

I KHRUSHCHEV'S SPEECH TO THE BULGARIAN COMMUNISTS

TEXT OF KHRUSHCHEV PARTY CONGRESS SPEECH

Sofia, Bulgarian Home Service, June 3, 1958, 0730 GMT--M

(Khrushchev's live speech in Russian at the Seventh Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party)

(Text) Dear comrades and friends, allow me, on behalf of the CPSU Central Committee, our party, and all Soviet people, to convey warm brotherly greetings and good wishes to the Seventh Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party, Bulgarian communists, and all Bulgarian people. (Applause)

Our party and the peoples of the Soviet Union, as well as those of all socialist countries, are rejoicing with you over the outstanding successes with which the Bulgarian Communist Party is marking the Seventh Congress. The Bulgarian people, led by their Communist Party, have advanced considerably toward construction of a socialist society.

Workers of the Soviet Union congratulate the Bulgarian people from the bottom of their hearts on their historic victories. (Applause) The rapid growth of the economy of the Bulgarian People's Republic, the steady improvement of material well-being, and the enhancement of the people's cultural level which were clearly pointed out by Comrade Zhivkov in the report of the Bulgarian Communist Party Central Committee are convincing confirmation of the superiority of socialism over capitalism. (Applause)

Bourgeois lackeys like to exaggerate the imaginary advantages of the so-called system of free enterprises. Listening to them, one may think that this system is mankind's ultimate dream, and there is or can be nothing better. But then why cannot they name even one capitalist country which has attained in such a short period of time such significant achievements in economic development as have the countries which took the socialist road?

Let us, for example, take the countries neighboring Bulgaria--Greece and Turkey. Statistics objectively show that People's Bulgaria, which has embarked on the socialist development road, has attained considerably greater successes in the development of its economy and culture than have

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its capitalist neighbors. (Applause) In socialist countries as a whole the volume of industrial production has increased more than four times compared with the prewar level, whereas in capitalist countries, despite the mad armament race and other methods of encouragement, it has not even doubled.

We are firmly convinced that the time is approaching when socialist countries will outstrip the most developed capitalist countries not only in tempo but also in volume of industrial production. (Applause) Our conviction is based on realistic facts. The Soviet Union has already considerably approached the most powerful capitalist country, the United States, in total volume of industrial production as well as in per capita production.

Our successes in the development of science and technology are well known. The Soviet Union possesses everything to solve, in a historically short period, the main economic problem--to catch up with and overtake the most developed capitalist countries in per capita production. (Applause)

The Chinese People's Republic is now struggling to catch up with and overtake England in volume of steel production and other important industrial products. (Applause) The Czechoslovak Republic has already surpassed Sweden, France, and West Germany in per capita steel smelting and France and Italy in electric power production. (Applause) With the emergence of socialism from the realm of one country and the establishment of the world socialist camp, new and exceptionally significant possibilities for speeding up the tempo of development of socialist economy have been created. It is essential that these possibilities are utilized wisely and in a businesslike manner.

In this connection I would like to dwell on certain questions of economic collaboration among socialist countries. Recently, a conference of representatives of communist and workers parties, members of the Council of Mutual Economic Assistance, was held in Moscow. Representatives of the Chinese Communist Party, the Korean Workers Party, the Vietnamese Workers Party, and the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party also participated in the conference.

The conference came to a unanimous conclusion that at present, when economic relations among socialist countries have been considerably expanded and strengthened, the questions of further improvement of the forms of economic collaboration are of the greatest significance. This includes more thorough specialization and cooperation in production in mutually related branches of the economies of the socialist camp nations.

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Steady implementation of measures elaborated by the conference for the further development and intensification of international division of labor in socialist countries will insure the most beneficial utilization of natural and economic resources, increase in labor productivity, and further improvement of the people's well-being in each and every country. Prudent organization of economic collaboration among socialist camp nations will undoubtedly speed up the development of national productive forces and strengthen the economic might of the socialist camp as a whole.

Just as at the November conference of representatives of communist and workers parties, the recent Moscow conference showed the inviolable unity of the peoples of the socialist countries and also showed their great interest in strengthening their collaboration in the future and in developing and improving (word indistinct) collaboration among socialist camp countries. (Applause)

Bourgeois theoreticians assert that the creation and strengthening of the socialist camp will limit the self-dependence and national independence of its members. The history of the development of collaboration among socialist countries since the establishment of the world socialist system convincingly shows that it is socialism indeed that brings real national independence to countries. The socialist camp is a voluntary union of sovereign countries with equal rights in which none seeks or aspires for any special rights, privileges, or advantages.

It is self-evident that each socialist country independently solves the question regarding the forms of collaboration with other socialist countries. There is and can be no coercion in this matter. However, to attain socialist victory, would it be possible to utilize fully the great possibilities existing in socialist countries if each country acted independently and, as they say, stewed in its own juice?

Would it be possible, in the present international situation, to insure reliable protection for socialist achievements if socialist countries acted without cooperation? Of course not. Only unity among socialist countries will insure maximum utilization of the advantages of the world socialist system and increase its strength and might in the struggle to prevent a new war and in the economic competition with capitalist countries.

Life has convincingly shown that the strengthening of unity among socialist camp countries does not damage the national interests of any of these countries, but on the contrary represents a reliable guarantee of their national independence and sovereignty. (Applause)

Communist and workers parties are unanimous in the opinion that only the unity among socialist countries and the strengthening of general collaboration and mutual brotherly assistance based on the great principles of proletarian internationalism will insure general development of socialist

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economy and pull previously lagging countries to the level of leading countries. This will make it possible to eliminate the factual inequality in the degree of development of economy and culture which was inherited from the past.

The unity of the socialist camp countries is achieved first of all by the unity among communist and workers parties based on firm Marxist-Leninist principles, which have been tested by historical existence. Each party, by creatively applying the general principles of Marxism-Leninism, works out the most beneficial and concrete forms for implementing these principles under the conditions prevailing in its country, thus contributing its own share to the theory and practice of socialist construction and development of Marxism-Leninism. (Applause)

Our great teacher Vladimir Ilyich Lenin attributed great significance to the revolutionary creation of the masses in the establishment, development, and improvement of concrete forms and methods of the struggle for the triumph of the socialist revolution and the new social system. Vladimir Ilyich Lenin wrote that Marxism differs from all other socialist theories in that it consists of remarkable unity of full scientific soberness, in the analysis of the objective state of affairs and objective progress in evolution, with decisive recognition of the significance of the revolutionary energy, revolutionary creation, and revolutionary initiative of the masses.

Creative development of Marxist-Leninist theory is the basis of the international communist movement, all revolutionary parties, and the working class. (Applause) It is known, for example, that the Chinese Communist Party contributes a great share to the theory and practice of socialist revolution and socialist construction.

It masterfully combines the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with concrete practice in the revolution and in socialist construction in its country. Also of great value in the development of Marxist-Leninist theory is the creative interpretation by communist and workers parties of European and Asian socialist countries of problems dealing with the transitory period. This is particularly true of the Bulgarian Communist Party's experience in the reorganization of agriculture on a socialist basis. (Applause) The forms of productive cooperation in agriculture worked out and applied in the Bulgarian People's Republic are an example of the proper combination of general regularity of socialist transformation in agriculture with the concrete conditions and characteristics of Bulgaria. (Applause)

The experience of your party again confirmed that there is no way of joining the wide masses of peasants with socialism, regardless of national characteristics, except by Lenin's cooperative plan, which has been tested by life. (Applause)

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The brotherly communist and workers parties highly value the significance of the decisions of the 20th CPSU Congress on the development of Marxism-Leninism. They have noted that these decisions form a foundation for a new stage of the international communist movement and facilitate its further development.

The communist and workers parties of capitalist countries, while working out forms and methods for the struggle of the working class under contemporary conditions for the mastery of political power, are enriching Lenin's theory of socialist revolution.

The declaration adopted by the conference of representatives of communist and workers parties of socialist countries justly notes that the creative application of general regularities in socialist construction and the versatility of forms and methods of socialist construction in different countries, as proved by experience, is a collective contribution to Marxist-Leninist theory. The experience of each communist party and each country in socialist construction is represented in this collective contribution. (Applause) The strength and importance of the declaration lies in the fact that it generalizes the gigantic experience in socialist construction in the USSR and the people's democracies, the experience of the international workers and communist movements, and the experience of the worldwide national independence movement.

Basic premises of Marxism-Leninism, applicable to the conditions of our epoch, found further creative development in this historic document. Speaking of creative development of the Marxist-Leninist theory under contemporary conditions, we must not ignore the principally incorrect assertions contained in the draft program of the League of Yugoslav Communists.

This draft states that during the past 10 years (Marxist-Leninist theory?) has ostensibly lagged behind the development of contemporary society and that as a result many vacuums have been created in the further scientific Marxist interpretation of contemporary social problems, particularly in the interpretation of regularity and contradictions in the transitory period from capitalism to socialism. How can it be asserted that during the past 10 years the development of the Marxist-Leninist idea, particularly in the interpretation of regularity of the transitory period, lagged, especially in view of the fact that during these years the CPSU, as well as the worldwide communist movement, contributed so many new ideas to Marxist-Leninist theory?

During these years, for the first time in the history of mankind, socialism was established in the Soviet Union. In a number of countries in Europe and Asia (applause), under the leadership of communist parties, revolutionary transition of power into the hands of the workers was realized, and the people's democracy, a new form of the proletarian dictatorship, came into being and was developed.

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Socialism emerged from the realm of one country and became a world system. The Chinese Communist Party and other brotherly parties of the people's democracies carried out extensive transformation of capitalist industry and trade and found original forms to implement Lenin's cooperative plan. In all people's democracies such forms of unity of the working masses for the struggle for socialism as the Fatherland and National Fronts came into being under the guidance of Marxist-Leninist parties.

Is it not clear that the assertion of the so-called vacuums in the development of Marxist-Leninist theory contradicts reality and in our opinion testifies to the Yugoslav leaders' neglect of the practice of socialist construction in other countries--the experience of brotherly communist and workers parties?

The draft program of the League of Yugoslav Communists and statements by Yugoslav leaders at the Seventh Congress of the League of Yugoslav Communists were attempts to accuse other communist parties of socialist countries of practicism. Apparently Yugoslav comrades interpret practicism as the fact that communist and workers parties of socialist countries direct their main effort toward the development and implementation of practical measures for cultural and economic development and for improving the people's well-being.

We consider that such practicism meets the vital interests of the masses and the interests of socialism. The working masses judge the advantages of the socialist system and its superiority over the capitalist system mainly by who possesses political power and the means of production. They also judge by the results of the development of the national economy, successes in science and technology, and improvement of the cultural level and well-being of workers in socialist countries. (Applause)

In our opinion, interpretation of questions of theory and practice of construction of socialism and communism is indeed the real creative development of Marxism and Leninism. We communists attribute great importance to the revolutionary theory. Indeed, we have achieved our successes because we are always guided by Marxist-Leninist theory. Marxist-Leninist theory is our (road?)--our guiding star. The strength of Marxism-Leninism lies in its indissoluble tie with life and the processes of social development. (Applause)

It is known that the working people lean toward socialism before having a full understanding of the theory of scientific socialism. The working people wish to rid themselves of capitalism, of its incurable disasters and vices. They seek a way out of the hopelessness of capitalism. Only when a revolutionary party, armed with the scientific theory of communism, properly organizes workers, peasants, and intelligentsia, leading them in the struggle to build a new life, does Marxist-Leninist theory become intelligible and accessible to the wide masses of workers.

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By introducing the working class to the practice of the revolutionary struggle and enlisting the workers for the solution of concrete questions dealing with social transformation, the Marxist party creates conditions which enable workers and peasants not only to comprehend but also to feel through their experience the correctness and vitality of the victorious theory of Marxism-Leninism.

The development of theoretical principles takes place under conditions of the revolutionary struggle and socialist construction. The Russian working class, united with working peasants and led by the Communist Party, which creatively adapted and developed Marxist theory, in October 1917 took power in its own hands to rebuild the economy and the country's life on the basis of socialism.

During the first years of Soviet rule the great Lenin, while developing plans for socialist construction, set the most important task: To develop heavy industry, the basic condition for developing all branches of the national economy. Under his guidance a concrete plan for the country's electrification was worked out. Lenin called it the second party program. Does this not show that Lenin considered theoretical and practical problems of socialist construction as an indissoluble whole? After the working class takes power in its own hands, the socialist state is faced with many problems dealing with economic and cultural construction.

Marxist-Leninist theory received its personification and further development during socialist construction. During the 40 years of the existence of the Soviet state, our party carried out immense work in directing the creative effort of the Soviet people for the creation of a socialist society. For example, let us consider certain problems solved by the CPSU during recent times. The party carried out much work in the reorganization of industrial and building administration. This has had great economic effect. The question is: Is it a theoretical or practical problem? This is a problem which is of tremendous and practical significance.

Our party has carried out several important measures in agriculture. As a result of their implementation great reserves and possibilities have been made available to us. Soviet agriculture is now being rapidly developed. In the beginning of 1955 a six-year stockbreeding development program was worked out. As a result of implementation of measures worked out by the party on the basis of Marxist-Leninist principles dealing with agriculture, and a thorough understanding on the part of the masses of the necessity of these measures, the six-year plan for production of milk and dairy products was fulfilled in three years. (Applause)

One year ago leading Soviet kolkhozes and sovkhoses proposed a task, subsequently supported by the CPSU Central Committee, to catch up in the next several years with the United States in per capita production of meat, milk, and butter. We are confident that this task will be successfully solved. (Applause)

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Are all these practical or theoretical problems? We consider that these are primarily practical problems. But if the national economy of a socialist country is developing, the national wealth is growing annually, wages are increasing, and the workers well-being is improving, this means that the position of socialism is strengthening and the principles of Marxist-Leninist theory are being realized. As you see, these are important theoretical problems. (Applause)

Recently, on the initiative of the CPSU Central Committee, a law for the further development of the kolkhoz system and reorganization of MTS was passed. Now machines are directly sold to kolkhozes, and MTS have been reorganized into repair-technical stations. The progress in spring field work in kolkhozes showed that this measure has fully justified itself, that tractors and other agricultural machines are utilized in kolkhozes not in a worse but in a better manner than in MTS. Is this a practical problem only, or a theoretical problem only? No, this is a problem of theory as well as practice in socialist construction. (Applause)

The May plenum of the CPSU Central Committee adopted a great problem for the development of the chemical industry in the Soviet Union. The implementation of this program will insure further technical progress in many branches of the national economy of our country and will make it possible to solve more quickly the task of increasing the production of consumer goods.

At first sight all these problems are essentially practical, but at the same time they are also theoretical. Here are two aspects of one entity coming into play--theory and practice. With our successes in industrial, agricultural, and cultural development we clearly show the advantages of our theoretical ideas and the strength and vitality of Marxist-Leninist theory, on the basis of which a socialist society is being built. We assert and develop revolutionary theory and enrich it with the experience of millions by applying this theory to practice, developing the socialist economy, and paving new roads of the future.

Each practical problem in socialist construction is at the same time a theoretical problem directly connected with the creative development of Marxism-Leninism. One cannot be separated from the other. Theory without practice is like a sterile flower. You know, it happens sometimes that an orchard is blooming and a man rejoices on looking at blooming flowers. He expects that the orchard will yield an abundant crop and reward him for his labor. However, the blooming season passes and the man sees that the orchard bears no fruit. This is a great disappointment, and the man feels cheated in his hopes and expectations. When the orchard was blooming and fragrant he was glad and expected an abundance of fruit. But the orchard failed to bear this fruit; labor was wasted; the orchard cultivated by the man did not reward him for his efforts.

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People become severely disappointed by theoretical sterile flowers as well. On some occasions, having heard talk and arguments about the blooming of some sterile blossoms, some windbags, some people become delighted and begin to believe the loud statements by these people. But later they are convinced that nothing comes out in practice which is made up of beautiful words. (Applause) Beautiful words remain empty promises divorced from life. When people are convinced that florid words of such "theoreticians" are nothing but sterile flowers, talk, and sterility, they turn away from these theoreticians and their theories. (Applause)

The revolutionary Marxist-Leninist theory possesses a great invincible strength because it is indissolubly tied with life and the processes of social development and because it undergoes its historic test in this life. (Applause) Practice unenlightened with progressive revolutionary theory is doomed to wander in the dark. Marxist-Leninist theory illuminates for the working class and workers the ways to solve practical problems in building socialism and communism. However, theory alone without practice is dead and sterile.

Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, mocking people aloof from life and steeped in abstract arguments, used to say: "We are of the opinion that the practice of the mass workers movement is no less important than theory and that only this practice is capable of giving a serious test to our principles." (Applause)

(Editor's Note: The following paragraph, supplied from a Moscow home service broadcast of the text of Khrushchev's speech, was not included in this Sofia home service version. With this exception, the two versions are identical.)

Theory, my friend, is grey, but the eternal tree of life is evergreen. (Applause) In the history of human society many a time theoretic postulates were put forward which appeared infallible. But they did not arise from life itself, were not confirmed by practice. Such theoretic postulates soon died without bringing any benefit to mankind.

The vital power of the Marxist-Leninist theory lies in the fact that it arose in the struggle of the working class and that it develops indissolubly linked with practice and answering mankind's most vital questions. The correctness of Marxist-Leninist theoretical promise is proved and illustrated by the practice in the struggle for the construction of the communist society. It is confirmed by the outstanding experiences of our party and of all fraternal parties of socialist countries. It is confirmed by the experiences of the communist parties of capitalist countries which are led by the traditional theory directing the struggle of the working class and of all workers toward the liberation from capitalist slavery and to the construction of a socialist society.

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Communism is not an abstract philosophic concept. It has definite tenor--the need for the liquidation of the exploiting classes and the exploitation of man by man and the establishment of a social order in which all the created material and spiritual values become communal property and in which the people, having created these values, use them according to their own discretion. They are able to make use of all the fruits of their work by working in their specialties and by being repayed according to their necessity. Communism is the bright future and the aspiration of mankind. (Applause)

Some theoreticians are striving in every way to lower the practical activities of the communist and workers parties in their construction of socialism by disparagingly accusing them of practicalism. But, at the same time, they only exist because of the alms they receive from imperialist countries in the form of leftover goods. (Applause) It is clear to everyone that a socialist economy cannot be strengthened by such means. About what successes of socialism can we speak here, what development of Marxist-Leninist theory can be dealt with here? If such poor theoreticians do not understand how much harm the theories they put forward can do to the working-class cause, the imperialist circles, on the other hand, know full well what they want and do everything in their power to support and encourage that which helps them in their struggle against communism.

I would not wish to offend anyone. But, on the other hand, I cannot refrain from asking the question which deeply concerns all communists everywhere. Why do the imperialist bosses, while striving to obliterate from the face of the earth the socialist states and squash the communist movement, at the same time finance one of the socialist countries, granting that country credits and free gifts? (Applause)

Nobody will believe that two socialisms exist in the world--one socialism which bitterly hates universal reaction, and the other socialism (acceptable) to the imperialists, which does not give assistance and support. (Applause)

Everyone knows that the imperialists never give money to anyone without a purpose, just for the sake of "beautiful eyes." (Applause) They invest their capital in those enterprises from which they hope to receive a good profit. (Applause) If the imperialists agree to give assistance to a socialist state, they do not take such a step in order to strengthen it. One can in no way suspect the monopolistic circles of the United States of America of being interested in strengthening socialism and the development of Marxist-Leninist theory. (Applause) Because the recipient country is the one which says that we are the ones who are deviating from Marxist-Leninist theory, while they maintain the correct positions, (Applause) a rather curious situation arises: The American monopolists wish to support the Marxist-Leninist theory through that country.

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It is expedient to remember certain words uttered by Hegel: "If you are praised by your enemy, think of the stupidity you have committed." (Applause) Remember, that while the imperialists unite their efforts in their attack against socialism and the working class, and while they unfairly call themselves fighters for socialism, they are striving to weaken the free will of the working class in the struggle against capitalism, to weaken the vanguard of the working class of the communist and workers parties, to lull their vigilance, and to weaken the unity of socialist countries. Relying on such allies, the aggressive circles of the bourgeoisie are indeed able to evoke certain hopes and to rejoice that their attempts to disrupt the socialist states from within appear to be successful. But I must disclose a secret--that these illusory hopes of the imperialists are doomed to failure, and the funds invested by them in the enterprises will be wasted, as happens every time to the imperialists when they attempt to (Editor's Note: Remainder of sentence muffled in stormy applause and shouts of hurrah. Moscow home service completes the sentence as follows: ... base their calculations on weakening the unity of the communist and workers parties.)

The Communist Party guards the unity of its ranks like the apple of its eye. It wages a decisive struggle against revisionism and dogmatism. In this struggle the principal fire of the Communist Party is directed toward revisionists, the lackeys of the imperialist camp. The ancient legend about the Trojan horse is well-known. When the enemies were unable to besiege and assault Troy, they presented a wooden horse to the Trojans, hiding their people inside the horse so that they could open the city gates during the night. Present-day revisionism is in its way a Trojan war. (Applause) The revisionists are striving to corrupt the revolutionary parties from within and to disrupt the unity of the Marxist-Leninist theory. (Applause)

Comrades, the communist and workers parties in their historic declarations unanimously and stringently evaluated revisionism as, under certain conditions, the main danger to the international communist movement. Revisionism is rightist opportunism, a manifestation of the bourgeois ideology which paralyzes the revolutionary energy of the working class and demands the reestablishment of capitalism. It is emphasized in a fair manner in the declaration that the presence of bourgeois influence is an inner source of revisionism, while capitalism, before pressure on the part of imperialism, is its outer source. The communists of all countries warmly approve the declaration adopted at the conference of fraternal parties of the socialist countries and have approved it as the most important program and document in the international communist movement, in which a profound analysis was made of the basic regularity of socialist development in the contemporary epoch, and in which with exceptional clarity the tasks of the universal communist movement are determined.

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Of all the communist and workers parties, the League of Yugoslav Communists declared their nonagreement in regard to the declaration, and thus stand in opposition to all Marxist-Leninist parties. This position of the Yugoslav leaders is most clearly defined in the draft program of the League of Yugoslav Communists for the work of the Seventh Congress of the League of Yugoslav Communists. All communist and workers parties have been unanimous in strongly condemning the revisionist premise--contradictory to Marxism-Leninism--which is contained in the draft program of the League of Yugoslav Communists, and the depraved position of the Yugoslav leaders.

Allow me, comrade delegates, in this connection to express certain considerations regarding the relationship between the CPSU and the League of Yugoslav Communists. It seems to me expedient to express these considerations at your congress because this concerns relations not only between the CPSU and the League of Yugoslav Communists but also concerns relations between all brotherly parties and the League of Yugoslav Communists.

As has already been stated, the declaration by the fraternal parties expresses a unanimous point of view. Their common point of view regarding the most important contemporary problems has also been determined on the basis of Marxist-Leninist principles. Marx, Engels, and Lenin always attributed primary importance to the struggle for the purity of ideological principles of scientific communism. They were irreconcilable toward all kinds of attempts to remove the revolutionary soul from the militant theory of the working class.

They taught that the theory of scientific communism is the main ideological weapon of the working class in its struggle for its liberation and transformation of the society on the basis of communism. They taught that without the revolutionary theory there can be no revolutionary movement.

We all know that Vladimir Ilyich Lenin carried out a great struggle against international revisionism, opportunism, Bernstein, Kautsky, and similar persons, while defending revolutionary and creative Marxism. In this irreconcilable ideological struggle the Marxist-Leninist parties of the working class grew, became strong, and were tempered. Now they have become a mighty organization, an organization of inspiring strength for the international workers movement.

True to the will of our teachers and leaders, the communist and workers parties are vigilantly protecting the purity of Marxist-Leninist principles. They are very sensitive toward any misinterpretation and deviation from these principles. Marxist-Leninist parties steadily and decisively oppose those who attempt to weaken the unity among fraternal communist parties, subvert international unity of the working class in all countries, and disorganize their revolutionary struggle.

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Particularly dangerous to the revolutionary movement are all those who call themselves Marxists-Leninists, but in reality, whether they want it or not, carry out the role of agents of the class enemy in the workers' movement. This is why the communist and workers parties are very touchy about theoretical problems and irreconcilable toward any attempt to revise Marxism-Leninism. (Applause)

The relationship between our parties and the League of Yugoslav Communists has its own history. Certain important moments in this history must now be recalled. You know that until 1948 good relations existed between Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union, which were created during the joint struggle against fascist usurpers during World War II and during the first postwar years.

In September 1948, when imperialist reaction started intensified attacks against the socialist countries, the communist parties of the Soviet Union, the European countries, the people's democracies, as well as some communist parties of capitalist countries of Europe, organized an information bureau of the communist and workers parties, the Informburo, a working organ which was first located in Belgrade.

Looking back on the past, we must say that the Informburo for a certain period of time played its positive role in the history of the revolutionary Marxist-Leninist movement in rallying the forces of the communist and workers parties on the principles of international proletarianism in the struggle for a stable peace, democracy, and socialism. The Communist Party of Yugoslavia, together with the CPSU and a number of other fraternal parties, was one of the organizers of the Informburo and an active participant in its activity during the first period.

This is how matters were up to 1948. Then came a worsening in relations between the Communist Party of Yugoslavia and other fraternal parties. In 1948, a conference of the Informburo issued a resolution on the state of affairs in the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, which contained just criticisms of the activity of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia on a number of questions of principle. This resolution was fundamentally correct and corresponded to the interests of the revolutionary movement. Later on, in 1949 to 1953 conflict arose between the Communist Party of Yugoslavia and other fraternal parties when, in the course of the struggle, mistakes and stratification which caused damage to our common cause were permitted. Fully conscious of its responsibility in respect to our countries and peoples and the international communist movement, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union took the initiative to liquidate this conflict and achieve normalization of relations between our countries and establish contacts, cooperation, and alliance on Marxist-Leninist principles.

In this connection, talks between representatives of the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia were conducted on our initiative in May and June 1955 which ended with the signing of the Belgrade declaration.

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It is very important to note that during the talks in Belgrade Comrade Tito spoke of forgetting the past and starting our relations on a new basis. We willingly agreed to this and on our part did everything to strengthen friendly relations. While doing this we were conscious that between our parties there were ideological differences on a number of important questions. On our part, much endurance and patience was shown for achieving unity of views on a Marxist-Leninist basis. Life showed, however, that the burden of the past was too heavy for the authoritative leaders, and they proved to be incapable of (giving up?) their wrong position and firmly standing on a Marxist-Leninist position.

Yugoslav leaders even after the normalization of relations continued to come out with anti-Soviet declarations, making attacks on the socialist camp and the fraternal communist parties. Particularly great harm was done to the cause of socialism by Yugoslav leaders in their public speeches and actions during the Hungarian events. During the counterrevolutionary rebellion in Budapest the Yugoslav Embassy became in substance a center for those who started the war against the people's democratic regime in Hungary--a refuge for the capitulatory, treacherous Nagy-Lozonczy group. Remember the unprecedented speech of Comrade Tito in (word indistinct) in which the rebels in Hungary were defended and the fraternal assistance of the USSR to the Hungarian people was called Soviet intervention--a speech which contained direct appeals to certain forces in other socialist countries to follow a so-called Yugoslav course.

We know what kind of course this is, comrades. Whoever wants to follow this course can go to it, but we shall not follow this course. We follow the Marxist-Leninist course. (Applause) Our socialist ship sails along the course of Marxist-Leninist teaching. As a result of this position of the Yugoslav leaders, we were forced to come out with open criticism of their views and actions. Our position was fully supported by the communist and workers parties. Thus it was not the fraternal parties standing on the position of Marxist-Leninist principles but the Yugoslav leaders, by their dissident actions against the socialist countries and fraternal parties, which put Yugoslavia and themselves in a position of isolation from the socialist countries and the international communist movement.

Later, on the initiative of the Yugoslav leaders, in August 1957 there took place in Bucharest the well-known meeting of delegations of the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia. During this meeting we frankly stated to the Yugoslav leaders our views on the policy of the League of Yugoslav Communists as regards the Hungarian and other problems.

In the course of the negotiations agreement was reached on the basic problems of the present-day international situation, although it had to be admitted that certain differences of opinion on ideological questions existed between us.

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During the meeting in Bucharest we hoped that we would find a mutual language and would clear the way for further friendly cooperation. On the other hand we openly declared to the Yugoslav leaders that if they should permit themselves to again make attacks against the countries of the socialist camp and fraternal parties, such attacks would not go without our reply.

I said this, fully conscious of the responsibility with respect to the fraternal Bulgarian Communist Party which we respect for its bravery and devotion to the great Marxist-Leninist ideals. (Long applause) During the meeting in Bucharest an agreement was reached to the effect that the delegation of the League of Yugoslav Communists would take part in the forthcoming conference of fraternal parties of socialist countries and in the drawing up of a draft declaration at the conference.

Subsequent events showed however that the Yugoslav leaders retreated from the positions agreed upon. While having refused to sign the declaration of the communist and workers parties of the socialist countries, the Yugoslav leaders decided to come out with their platform, a draft program of the League of Yugoslav Communists opposed to the coordinated views of the Marxist-Leninist parties and pretending to be a program of the international communist and workers movement. Of course the program of the League of Yugoslav Communists is an internal affair of the Yugoslav communists but, insofar as this draft program contains an insignificant and insulting appraisal of other parties and socialist countries and a revision of the fundamentals of the Marxist-Leninist theory, our party considers it its direct duty to come out with criticism of the anti-Marxist statements in this document.

The principled position of our party, expressed in letters of the CPSU Central Committee and in our party press, found the unanimous support and approval of all the communist and workers parties. Having rejected fraternal criticism based on principles voiced by fraternal parties, the Yugoslav leaders once again found themselves isolated and continued persistently to maintain their mistaken anti-Marxist views. Instead of seriously analyzing the reasons which put the League of Yugoslav Communists in such a difficult position, the Yugoslav leaders attempt to accuse the fraternal parties of having an unobjective attitude toward them and of interference in the internal affairs of the league.

This is really, as they say, putting the blame on somebody else. Some Yugoslav comrades attempt to find differences in the appraisal of their mistakes by some communist and workers parties. They attack the CPSU. They want to stress in particular the Chinese Communist Party, asserting that it criticizes their mistakes in a special way. But vain are the attempts to find different shades in the criticism of present-day revisionism on the part of the fraternal parties.

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All the fraternal parties are united in this matter. We consider that the Chinese comrades, just as all the other fraternal parties, very justly criticize the revisionist statements of the draft program of the League of Yugoslav Communists and consistently defend the principles of Marxism-Leninism. We fully agree with this principled criticism. The forces of socialism, the unity of the communist and workers parties, can be strengthened only in the struggle against revisionism and in the struggle for the purity of the Marxist-Leninist theory. (Long applause)

Recently the weekly KOMUNIST, organ of the League of Yugoslav Communists, published an article devoted to the third anniversary of the signing of the Belgrade declaration. At first sight it appears that the article is written in quiet tones and seeks to reduce tension which has arisen between the League of Yugoslav Communists and other fraternal parties. But it is far from being so. It tries to justify the mistaken position of the Yugoslav leaders. Thus the article contains the assertion that the struggle for peace is the main content of the struggle for socialism. One cannot agree with such assertions.

It is not disputed that those who struggle for socialism consistently struggle for the cause of peace. But many leaders who do not support the principles of socialism also struggle for peace. Even some conservatives, religious cult ministers, and different kinds of bourgeois public and political leaders are struggling for peace. Naturally we are uniting our efforts in our struggle for peace. Thus in the struggle for peace, forces and organizations of various views and political opinions can be united.

It is another question when we speak of the struggle for the victory of socialism. Here one cannot rely on uniting the efforts of the working classes with the capitalists, of the communist with the bourgeois parties. The struggle for the victory of socialism requires unity of views and unity of action by the parties of the working class, standing on positions of Marxism-Leninism and consistently implementing the principle of proletarian internationalism and fraternal mutual assistance of the nations building socialism. (Applause)

We have stood and continue to stand on this position: That it is necessary to strengthen in every way cooperation between all the states in the struggle for peace and for the security of nations. We want to maintain such relations with the Yugoslav Federal Republic. But we as communists would like more. We would like to reach mutual understanding and cooperation on the party plan. The Yugoslav communists have considerable revolutionary experience and great merits in the struggle against our common class enemies. The working class and all the working people of Yugoslavia made a considerable contribution to the struggle against fascism in the years of World War II. Of course, if cooperation on the party plane cannot succeed, then we shall support and develop normal relations with Yugoslavia on the state plane.

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At the same time, we state frankly that we shall not reconcile ourselves to deviations in questions of ideology. We shall guard the unity of the Marxist-Leninist parties and struggle for the purity of revolutionary theory.

Comrades, I recall one conversation which I had with the Yugoslav leaders in 1956 when we exchanged views during friendly talks. Speaking about our differences, I drew Comrade Tito's attention to the need for a deeper analysis of events and our mutual relations, for a more correct appraisal of the situation, so as to arrive more quickly at a unity of views on the basis of principle. I quoted a well-known expression: The whole platoon marches in step and only one soldier is out of step. And I asked: "Who should be corrected, the platoon or the soldier?" (Laughter and applause)

Present at the meeting was Koca Popovic, who asked: "Who is the platoon and who is the soldier?" (Laughter)

I replied: "Think for yourself who is the soldier and who is the platoon. In any case, I said, every soldier knows that a platoon is a platoon, and every soldier is a part of the platoon, and therefore the platoon should not adjust itself to the soldier, but the soldier to the platoon." (Applause)

If you take a different attitude, then you must say frankly that you are not a soldier belonging to that communist platoon which marches smartly in step, guided by Marxism-Leninism. (Applause) We shall always defend as sacred the unity of the Marxist-Leninist army of fighters for communism. The workers and communist parties of the Soviet Union, China, Bulgaria, and other socialist countries, the communist parties of the whole world, are united and rallied. They are resolutely against contemporary revisionism.

Communists of all countries carry high the victorious standard of Marxism-Leninism and under this glorious standard they are marching confidently toward their great goal. (Applause)

Comrades, the Seventh Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party is summing up the results of an important period in the construction of socialism in Bulgaria and outlining ways for further construction of socialism. Undoubtedly the tasks set forth will be successfully carried out by the Bulgarian people who are closely rallied around their fighting party of communists. The Bulgarian working class and all the Bulgarian people can be rightly proud of their communist party. (Applause) It was tempered for dozens of years in the fierce battles against (word indistinct) reaction and the forces of fascism. It raised the working class and working peasants to a struggle for a free and socialist Bulgaria. Many of the best sons of the party gave their lives for the great cause. Your party trained Dimitri Blagoev and Georgi Dimitrov in the spirit of deep fidelity to Marxism-Leninism and of intolerance to any deviation from it.

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These beautiful qualities show themselves with renewed forces in the struggle of the Bulgarian communists for the construction of socialism and for an inviolable friendship and unity of all socialist countries and communist parties.

By its Leninist international policy, a policy devoted to our common cause, the Bulgarian Communist Party has won the deep respect of the international communist movement and of the ranks of all fraternal parties. (Applause)

To us, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, a fraternal party which has always maintained close ties with the Bulgarian Communist Party, it is pleasant to note that the correct line and policy of the Bulgarian Communist Party, both in the questions of construction of socialism in Bulgaria and in those of the international communist and workers movement, is proof of the Marxist-Leninist maturity of its leadership and the ability of its Central Committee to work out in a creative manner and apply in practice the principles of Marxism-Leninism. (Applause)

We are firmly convinced that, rallying even closer around this experienced leadership, the Bulgarian Communist Party will achieve new and greater victories in the construction of socialism in the People's Republic of Bulgaria and shall always march in the front ranks of the international communist movement. The mutual relations between the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Bulgarian Communist Party have been and remain the best and are truly fraternal. This was so, too, at the time when the best son of the Bulgarian people, Georgi Dimitrov, led the Bulgarian Communist Party. Such relations continue at present, when the Bulgarian Communist Party and the People's Republic of Bulgaria are headed by such faithful followers of Dimitrov and faithful Marxist-Leninists, led by the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Bulgaria. (Applause)

Allow me on behalf of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union to express our joy at the fact that between our parties, just as between our states, there has been always, on all questions, a full mutual understanding and fraternal alliance. Whatever questions we have discussed together, we have always seen that the representatives of the fraternal Communist Party of Bulgaria took the same attitude on those questions as the Communist Party of the Soviet Union--the attitude of Marxism-Leninism. (Applause and loud hurrahs)

The same understanding of our common tasks is also shown in the steadfast adherence to the guiding principles of Marxism-Leninism by the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party, led by its Politburo headed by the First Secretary of the Bulgarian Communist Party Central Committee, Comrade Zhivkov. (Applause) It is a great pleasure to note that in the relations between the Soviet Union and Bulgaria, between our countries and our parties, there have never been any differences--not even a shadow of difference.

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The Government of the People's Republic of Bulgaria--headed by Comrade Yugov, and guided by the interests of the people, the interests of the state, and the interests of all mankind--pursues this line consistently in all problems of internal development of the country and in all international relations. Between us and our Bulgarian comrades there have never been different points of view, and our views and appraisals have always coincided. This is understandable since our countries are led by parties which always stand on the positions of Marxism-Leninism--the positions of strengthening fraternal ties between all the communist and workers parties and between all the socialist states, and on positions of international proletarianism. (Applause)

Our unity and our solidarity are not just a slogan or a refrain. The unity and solidarity of the communist and workers parties exist materially and are constantly growing in strength. They have become an organic necessity for all our parties. Every communist and workers party is doing everything to contribute to the strengthening of unity of the parties standing on the positions of Marxism-Leninism, since this contributes to our reaching our great goal--the construction of a communist society. This is how we understand and how we practically implement the great appeal, "Workers of the world, unite," made over 100 years ago by the founders of scientific communism.

Rallying our ranks, strengthening the great camp of socialism, persistently struggling for peace in the world, we reject with anger the slander invented by the representatives of a certain party which calls itself a communist one, but which in effect pursues a policy which is foreign to communist principles. These leaders spread the following slander: If there is no (difference?) between fraternal communist parties it means that some party is imposing its will on other parties and that all these parties are (directly) dependent on one party. If we agreed with such a point of view it would be to the advantage of the imperialists. It would break the unity of the communist and workers parties, and make the mutual relations between them such that each would act independently, and in disharmony, ignore the experience gained by other parties. All this would lead the communist and workers parties to mutually contradictory actions, and finally dissension.

And this is precisely what is wanted by certain imperialist circles, circles which do not spare means to find allies in socialist countries by all sorts of "charity," carriers of their ideology, alien to Marxism-Leninism. No need to say that such a policy would, of course, give pleasure to our enemies, would have dealt a great and irreparable blow to the international communist movement and to the great cause of construction of socialism and communism. But we never will give ground to our enemies for rejoicing. We are communists and this means that we are consistent and devoted internationalists.

The communist parties resolutely condemn any policy which is contrary to strengthening friendship between communist parties and which deviates from the Marxist-Leninist principles.

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The communist parties resolutely condemn any policy which is contrary to strengthening friendship between communist parties and which deviates from the Marxist-Leninist principles. The communists have always been and always will be faithful to Marxist-Leninist teaching and will always and everywhere fight those who by their actions weaken the unity of the communist and workers parties, those who weaken the unity of the socialist camp which is growing in size and strength. Leninist communists distinguish themselves from so-called communists by their correct appraisal of any intention of the enemies aimed at weakening the unity of the communist and workers movement, aimed at weakening the vanguard of the workers and the unity of the communist and workers parties. We are confident that the fraternal, truly equal revolutionary relations between all the communist and workers parties will continue to grow stronger and flourish for the benefit of the great cause for which we are struggling--the construction of a communist society, the most equitable society on earth.

Allow me, comrades, to transmit the greetings of the CPSU Central Committee to the Seventh Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party.

To the Seventh Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party: The CPSU Central Committee warmly greets the delegates of the Seventh Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party, Bulgarian communists, and all the workers of Bulgaria and wishes them new successes in the building of socialism. The Bulgarian Communist Party, strictly adhering to Marxist-Leninist principles and applying them in a creative manner to the conditions of its country, has achieved outstanding successes in the construction of a socialist society. Socialism has won a decisive victory not only in the towns but also in the villages of the Bulgarian People's Republic. Rich experience has been gained by your party in the field of the socialist reorganization of agriculture and is a worthy contribution to the theory and practice of socialist construction. The struggle for implementation of the alliance of the workers and peasants has strengthened the moral-political unity of the Bulgarian people and increased labor activity. This indicates a further strengthening of the socialist state as a powerful weapon for the building of a new society.

The Bulgarian Communist Party holds high the victorious banner of Marxism-Leninism and is struggling irreconcilably for the purity of revolutionary theory, against all attempts to revise it. Sacredly preserving and multiplying the glorious revolutionary traditions of the Bulgarian working class and following the instructions of the outstanding leader of the Bulgarian and international communist movement, Georgi Dimitrov, Bulgarian communists, under the leadership of their Central Committee, showed their high principles and persistence in the struggle for the great ideals of international proletarianism and the unity of the powerful socialist camp and the international communist movement.

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The CPSU Central Committee sincerely wishes the Bulgarian communists and all the workers of Bulgaria new victories in the construction of socialism, in the struggle for the development of their fatherland, for strengthening unity and friendship between all socialist countries, and in the struggle for peace in the whole world.

Long live and flourish the Bulgarian People's Republic and its heroic people, builders of socialism! (Applause) Long live the Bulgarian Communist Party, experienced guide and leader of the Bulgarian people! (Applause) Let the eternal and indissoluble friendship between fraternal peoples, the unity and solidarity of the peoples of all socialist countries, grow stronger and develop! (Lengthy ovation: Delegates chanting "eternal friendship")

II THE COMMUNIST-CHINESE ATTACK ON TITO

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C O M M U N I S T C H I N A

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

May 5, 1958

YUGOSLAV REVISIONISTS SMEAR SOCIALISM

Peking, NCNA, Radioteletype in English to West and North Europe,
May 4, 1958, 2032 GMT--B

(Text) Peking, May 5--Today's PEOPLE'S DAILY carries an editorial entitled "Modern Revisionism Must Be Criticized." Full text of the editorial follows:

Today is the 140th anniversary of the birth of Karl Marx, founder of scientific communism. Since 1844, Marxism has been carrying on a persistent struggle against all trends of reactionary bourgeois and petit bourgeois thought and against all kinds of opportunist ideas among the ranks of the international workers movement. Marxism has continually emerged victorious in the struggle, for revolutionary practice has borne out its correctness.

It was in the course of the struggle in the age of imperialism and proletarian revolution that Lenin developed Marxism and carried it forward to a new stage, the stage of Leninism.

Now the international workers movement has placed before Marxism-Leninism the new sacred task: to carry out irreconcilable struggle against modern revisionism or neo-Bernsteinism. This is a struggle between the two fundamentally different lines of Marxism-Leninism and anti-Marxism-Leninism, a great struggle involving the success or failure of the cause of the working class of the world and the cause of socialism.

The recently closed seventh congress of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia adopted a "Draft Program of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia" which is an anti-Marxist-Leninist, out-and-out revisionist program.

To sum it up briefly, in method of thinking, the draft program substitutes sophistry for revolutionary materialistic dialectics. Politically, it substitutes the reactionary theory of the state standing above classes for the Marxist-Leninist theory of the state, and reactionary bourgeois nationalism for revolutionary proletarian internationalism. In political economy, it takes up the cudgels for monopoly capital and tries to obliterate the fundamental differences between the capitalist and socialist systems.

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The draft program openly forsakes the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism, sets itself against the declaration of the meeting of representatives of the communist and workers parties of socialist countries held in Moscow last November, and at the same time repudiates the "Peace Manifesto" adopted by the meeting of representatives of 64 communist and workers parties, endorsed by the representatives of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia itself. The draft program brands all the basic principles of revolutionary theory established by Marx and Engels and developed by Lenin and other great Marxists as "dogmatism," and the leaders of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia style themselves "irreconcilable enemies of any dogmatism."

What are the most basic things in the "dogmatism" which the leaders of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia have chosen to attack? They are proletarian revolution and proletarian dictatorship. But it is common knowledge that without proletarian revolution and proletarian dictatorship there can be no socialism. The draft program of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia concentrates its opposition on proletarian revolution and its attack on proletarian dictatorship, smears the socialist state and the socialist camp and beatifies capitalism, the imperialist state and the imperialist camp. This cannot but give rise to doubt about the "socialism" avowed by the leaders of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia.

Speaking like the reactionaries of all countries and the Chinese bourgeois rightists, the leading group of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia has viciously slandered proletarian dictatorship, alleging that it "leads to bureaucratism, the ideology of statism, separation of the leading political forces from the working masses, stagnation, the deformation of socialist development, and the sharpening of internal differences and contradictions." They maliciously slander the socialist camp, alleging that it also has a policy of "positions of strength and struggle for hegemony." They describe the two radically different world politic-economic systems, the socialist camp and the imperialist camp, as "division of the world into two antagonistic military-political blocs." They represent themselves as standing outside the "two blocs" of socialism and imperialism, or in a position beyond the blocs.

They hold that the U.S.-dominated United Nations can "bring about greater and greater unification of the world," that economic cooperation of all countries of the world, including the imperialist countries, is "an integral part of the socialist road to the development of world economy." They maintain that "the swelling flow of state-capitalist tendencies in the capitalist world is the most tangible proof that mankind is irrepressibly and by the most diverse roads deeply entering into the epoch of socialism."

These propositions cannot but call to mind the revisionist preaching about "evolutionary socialism," "ultra-imperialism," "organized capitalism" and "the peaceful growing of capitalism into socialism" made by right-wing socialists in the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century, such as Bernstein, Kautsky, Hilferding and their ilk, which were intended to induce the working class in the various capitalist countries to give up revolutionary struggle for socialism and uphold bourgeois rule.

The present preachings of the leaders of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia also harbor a wild attempt, namely, to induce the working class and other working people of various countries to take the road of surrender to capitalism. In his speech delivered at Pula in November 1956, Tito, leader of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, said: "What is actually involved is whether the new trend will triumph in the communist parties--the trend which really began in Yugoslavia." He also said: "It is a question now whether this course (the so-called Yugoslav course--NCNA) will be victorious or whether the Stalinist course will prevail again. Yugoslavia must not concentrate on herself, she must work in all directions." These statements fully betray their true ambition.

It is by no means accidental that the draft program of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia has appeared at the present time. Since the Great October Socialist Revolution, the international communist movement has achieved a series of great historic victories, the socialist system has been successfully set up among a population of 900 million and more, and the general crisis of capitalism has greatly extended, with the imperialist countries headed by the United States experiencing a new and profound periodic economic crisis.

Therefore, the imperialists led by the United States are stepping up their sabotage of the international communist movement. The bourgeoisie has been resorting to two methods to undermine the workers movement--suppression by brute force and deceit. In the present new international situation, when the revisionist harangues of the rightwing socialists are daily losing their paralyzing effect on the working class and the laboring masses, the program put forward by the Yugoslav revisionists fits in exactly with what the imperialists, and particularly the American imperialists need.

In his speech "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People," Comrade Mao Tse-tung said: "Revisionism, or rightist opportunism, is a bourgeois trend of thought which is even more dangerous than doctrinairism. The revisionists, or right opportunists, pay lip service to Marxism and also attack doctrinairism. But the real target of their attack are actually the most fundamental elements of Marxism."

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Now facts have proven that this thesis of Comrade Mao Tse-tung answers not only to the situation in China, but also to the international situation.

The declaration of the meeting of representatives of the communist and workers parties of socialist countries says: "The main danger at present is revisionism or, in other words, right-wing opportunism, which as a manifestation of bourgeois ideology paralyzes the revolutionary energy of the working class and demands the preservation or restoration of capitalism."

It points out with special emphasis: "Modern revisionism seeks to smear the great teaching of Marxism-Leninism, declares that it is outmoded and alleges that it has lost its significance for social progress. The revisionists try to exercise the revolutionary spirit of Marxism, to undermine faith in socialism among the working class and the working people in general.

They deny the historical necessity for a proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat during the period of transition from capitalism to socialism, deny the leading role of the Marxist-Leninist party, reject the principles of proletarian internationalism, and call for rejection of the Leninist principles of party organization and, above all of democratic centralism, and for transforming the communist party from a militant revolutionary organization into some kind of debating society."

The declaration clearly portrays the features of the modern revisionists who show themselves in the contents of the draft program of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia.

It is quite obvious that open and uncompromising criticism must be waged against the series of anti-Marxist-Leninist and out-and-out revisionist views assembled in the draft program of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia.

If theoretical criticism of the revisionism of Bernstein and Kautsky and their ilk by the Marxists of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was inevitable, then it is even more necessary now for us to criticize neo-Bernsteinism.

This is because modern revisionism is propounded as a comprehensive and systematic program by the leading group of a party that wields state power. It is also because modern revisionism is aimed at splitting the international communist movement and undermining the solidarity of the socialist countries, and is directly detrimental to the fundamental interests of the Yugoslav people.

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We consider as basically correct the criticism made in June 1948 by the Information Bureau of Communist Parties in its resolution "Concerning the Situation in the Communist Party of Yugoslavia" in regard to the mistake of the Yugoslav Communist Party in departing from the principles of Marxism-Leninism and sinking into bourgeois nationalism; but there were defects and mistakes in the method adopted at that time by the Information Bureau in dealing with this question. The resolution concerning Yugoslavia adopted by the Information Bureau in November 1949 was incorrect and it was later withdrawn by the communist and workers parties which took part in the Information Bureau meeting.

Since 1954, the Soviet Union and other countries of the socialist camp have done their utmost and taken various measures to improve their relations with Yugoslavia. This has been fully correct and necessary. The communist parties of various countries have adopted an attitude of waiting patiently, hoping that the leaders of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia would return to the Marxist-Leninist standpoint in the interest of adherence by the Yugoslav people to the road of socialism.

However, the leading group of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia has spurned the well-intentioned efforts made by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the communists of other countries. Around the time of the Hungarian event, they tried to disrupt the unity of countries in the socialist camp on the pretext of so-called "opposition to Stalinism;" during the Hungarian event, they supported the renegade Nagy clique; and, in their recent congress, they have gone further and put forward a systematic and comprehensive revisionist program.

The leaders of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia should think soberly: Will the League of Communists of Yugoslavia be able to maintain its solidarity with the communist parties of other countries by abandoning the fundamental viewpoints of Marxism-Leninism and persisting in revisionist viewpoints? Can there be a basis for solidarity without a common Marxist-Leninist viewpoint? Will it be in the interests of the Yugoslav people to reject friendship with the countries in the socialist camp and with the communist parties of other countries?

We deem it absolutely necessary to distinguish between right and wrong on vital questions in the international workers movement. As Lenin said: "A policy based on principle is the only correct policy." The world is now at a new historic turning point with the East wind prevailing over the West wind. The struggle between the Marxist line and the revisionist line is nothing but a reflection of the sharpening struggle between the rising class forces and the moribund class forces in society, a reflection of the sharpening struggle between the imperialist world and the socialist world.

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It is impossible for any Marxist-Leninist to escape this struggle. Historical developments will testify ever more clearly to the great significance of this struggle for the international communist movement.

U.S. POLAR FLIGHTS THREATEN WORLD PEACE

Peking, Chinese Home Service, in Mandarin, May 2, 1958, 1230 GMT--W

(Commentary "Warning the United States Against its Provocation Against Peace")

(Text) Soviet Foreign Minister Gromyko issued a statement at a press conference on Apr. 29 again demanding that the United States stop the flight of U.S. H-bomb carrying aircraft near the Soviet border and warning the United States not to play adventurous games with atomic and hydrogen weapons.

The continuous provocative flights of U.S. aircraft carrying H-bombs toward the Soviet border have become a serious threat to the security of the Soviet Union and world peace. The Soviet Union requested the U.N. Security Council to hold a meeting to discuss the adoption of necessary steps for stopping such peace-threatening actions of the United States. However, the U.S. delegate employed (his position as?) Chairman of the Security Council and the plenary session, with the support of some Western nations, rejected the Soviet proposal.

To divert the people's attention from this question, the U.S. Government put forward a so-called "proposal for setting up a North Pole arms inspection zone" and continuing the provocative flights of U.S. aircraft. The U.S. proposal is a deceptive scheme. It includes a large piece of Soviet territory in the supervised zoned and it does not include any U.S. territory.

Clearly, the intention of the United States is to use this means to collect intelligence on Soviet territory. At the same time, the U.S. authorities and their propaganda machine slung mud at the Soviet Union, saying that the Soviet warning against U.S. provocations is an indication the Soviet Union does not want a summit conference.

Such a stand by the United States shows that the United States is still determined to aggravate international tension and plans to continue its provocations.

III TITO'S SPEECH AT LABIN IN REPLY TO CHINESE ATTACK

TEXT OF TITO SPEECH ON BLOC CRITICISM

Belgrade, Serbian Home Service, June 15, 1958, 0845 GMT--M

(Live relay of President Tito's speech at Labin on the occasion of the 150th anniversary of the Istrian coal mines)

(Text) Comrades, (Chanting: "We are Tito's--Tito is ours") when the workers and miners of Istria started to work underground here 150 years ago, they did not dream that the time would come, the generation would come which would administer these mines, administer itself, and by its own will create a better life for itself. In the course of these 150 years there were many grave moments for the miners, workers of Rasa. There were many victims and much sweat and also tears were shed when the miners did not have the possibility, the means for work that they have today.

Comrades, since the liberation of Yugoslavia, this mine has played a great part, because the miners of Rasa have made a great contribution to the building of our socialist country. It is understandable that immediately after the war, in the first years, we could not provide the miners here and in other parts of our country the better conditions they should have, but you were able to see that we did everything possible to improve the living conditions of workers and miners here and throughout the country. Recently you saw that we created such material possibilities as to be able to give the miners pensions on a basis which suits them best.

There are still things which should be corrected. I would like to say today from this place that as soon as possible we will put the miners in the category they deserve, that is, into the higher category. Their work is very hard. Most of their life is spent working underground. They make a rich contribution to the foundations of our socialist community, and therefore have the right to have a place in the first ranks, in the higher category of workers. (Applause and chanting)

Comrades, I know that you are aware of what is happening in our country today, that you are aware of various difficulties we still face on the path of building socialism. I can only express my pleasure and pride that we have such a working class, a highly conscious working class,

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which even in the most difficult times knows its place, duties, and obligations, and patiently and stubbornly works for better conditions for the present and future generations.

We are still confronted with many difficulties. But, comrades, the worst is behind us. Now we have such strong foundations that we can go ahead with deep faith and build our better life. The crisis in our economic situation is past. We are past the point when we constantly have to worry about tomorrow.

You can also see for yourselves that today our country is already industrialized. Not completely it is true, but firm foundations have been laid and we have more products from year to year. A short while ago you read that in the first four months of this year, too, our industrial production had gone up 14 percent.

If we increase our output from year to year, if we raise labor productivity from year to year, we also raise the standard of living of our people, we increase the national income. This means that we have the best prospects for achieving what we have been fighting for, what our workers class fought for during the war as well as after it.

Comrades, today I intended, I promised, to come among you and talk a bit about our internal problems. Not grave problems but matters which still require a certain--how should I say--understanding from our working people, because they are not sufficiently well known to them. However, unfortunately, I decided today, comrades, to speak about what is hindering us, what is preventing us from going forward at an increasing pace in building our better life.

It has been our misfortune that throughout the postwar period of building of socialism in our country, in our efforts and--how should I say--our attempts--not always vain attempts--to pull ourselves out of various difficulties as soon as possible, we have often encountered obstacles and difficulties put forward by the side from which we least expected them.

Comrades, our seventh congress represented a real demonstration, not only of the unity of our people (applause and chanting: "Tito-party"), I wanted to say: Not only of the monolithic unity in the ranks of the League of Communists but also of the Socialist Alliance of the Working People and of all people of our country. Our main aim at this congress was to summarize our results, to make a general analysis of our work since the sixth congress, to draw certain lessons, and to analyze the significance of these results, not only for our country but also outside the boundaries of our country.

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As a socialist country, we considered it our duty to present at the congress what is positive and what is negative, as much in our domestic development and work as outside our country, and to present that which we think is harmful to the further development of socialist thought, harmful to the victory of socialism in the world. (Cries of "So it is, comrade," and so forth plus chanting of "Tito-party") Against our will, we met poor understanding on the part of our Eastern neighbors, that is, the leaders of countries building socialism.

First we are attacked because of the program and then because of the reports at the congress. Certain things which were neither said nor written were imputed to us, while other things were given a false interpretation and presented to their people in a different form from the one used when they were uttered. One might think that the present campaign against socialist Yugoslavia was caused by some theoretical formulations in the program of the League of Communists and reports at the seventh congress of the league.

But this is not so. This campaign, comrades, has deeper roots. It was organized much earlier than our congress when our program and congress reports were not yet known. Our program has been used only as an excuse for the attack on the League of Yugoslav Communists and Yugoslavia--socialist Yugoslavia.

The main reason for this campaign is that we refused to sign the declaration by 12 countries in Moscow last November and to join the so-called socialist camp because, as it is well-known, we oppose the division of the world into camps.

As regards the program, after certain criticisms, (which had been accepted gradually?), we accepted the objection that we still ought to emphasize a few things. Anyway, since the program is a document of historical importance, we ourselves also considered that we must cast as much light on it as possible right up to the congress, and that is why we made it available for broad discussion. You know that about 1,500 remarks were received, some were important and some were not; that we also told comrades outside our country, in the Soviet Union and others, that the program was not yet finished, and that it represented only a draft; that we and the commission which was preparing it were trying to make it even better; that we had already omitted certain things, and so forth; that we had thrown out some things and amended others; that they should not be impatient, and that they should wait until the program was finished and adopted by the congress before saying what they wanted to say, and that we would take this into account. In fact, when some well-meaning comrades, from Poland, for instance, made certain observations we accepted them. But when somebody, without saying anything on matters of principle begins outright slander, it is clear that this cannot be included into the program. (Applause)

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It does not follow that because we did not sign this declaration and join the socialist camp we are against the best possible cooperation with all socialist countries. On the contrary, comrades, we are for such cooperation in all fields, but in the present tense international situation we consider it better to conduct a constructive peaceful policy together with other peace-loving countries which also do not belong to any bloc than to join a camp and intensify even more the present tense situation in the world.

We consider that in view of our foreign policy and in view of the principles of coexistence, it is necessary to cooperate with all countries, and that in view of our peaceful foreign policy it is necessary to work with all our strength to prevent a further intensification of the situation and to avoid an armed clash. We consider that it is necessary to establish such relations with all countries and cooperate with them, and not to limit oneself to two camps, two blocs, which will keep on attacking each other and one day perhaps bring on an armed conflict.

As for the program and reports at the seventh congress, which were used as an excuse for beginning this violent and by no means comradely campaign against our country and the League of Communists, I must emphasize that the quotations from the program and the reports which are now being used in the press and speeches of the Eastern countries and China, especially in China, are, as I said before, incorrect and sometimes faked or taken out of context in such a way that they give a false picture of our attitude.

I will cite as an example the statement carried by Soviet, Chinese, and other papers, and included in the speeches of some leaders, to the effect that I praised American aid and American imperialism--you know very well that I never praised imperialism (laughter, applause, and chanting)--and that I ignored Soviet aid and attacked the Soviet Union. You surely remember that after the normalization I was one of the first to advocate with all his strength that our people forget the grave wounds inflicted on them by Stálin in 1948, that is, in the entire period after 1948, and that I worked with all my strength, together with other comrades, to make us forget what had happened and to move along a new road of correct socialist relations between our country and other socialist countries--and above all with the Soviet Union.

Therefore, I did not in any way attack the Soviet Union. Yet they say I did, and this is being used as an excuse for directing the most insolent vilification and slanders against the League of Communists. They are using an incorrect statement in order to attack and slander us in a most insolent manner. Here is what I said in the report at the congress of the League of Yugoslav Communists. I quote:

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"We were receiving economic aid from the United States at a time when it was most needed, that is, at the time of the political, economic, and propaganda pressure exerted on our country by Stalin. This helped us greatly to overcome the enormous difficulties in which we found ourselves. Although the American aid amounted to only four percent of our national income, it would be incorrect and incomprehensible on our part if we denied the great significance of this aid received at the time when we were in the worst situation.

"Certain people in the East wanted to use this for propaganda purposes, expressing doubt that this aid was being given to us without any political or other conditions. However, facts are facts. We have not made any concessions to the United States, political or otherwise, nor had anyone at that time made such conditions."

This is what I said, and this is why they are attacking me. It is true, however, that we needed this aid at that difficult time. (Applause) I do not think there was anybody in Yugoslavia who loves his people, who wishes them well, who did not agree with it. As far as Yugoslav-Soviet relations are concerned, I said the following in the report:

"Yugoslav-Soviet relations, based on the Belgrade declaration, are developing very successfully. A series of agreements has been concluded, such as on the building of industrial plants in Yugoslavia valued at 110 million dollars, on credits for goods amounting to 54 million dollars, on scientific-technical cooperation, on a loan of gold foreign currency amounting to 30 million dollars, and on cooperation in the field of atomic energy.

"Apart from this a cultural convention was concluded on the basis of which broad cooperation developed, as well as a convention regulating dual citizenship. A special agreement was also signed on the construction of a combined aluminum factory and an artificial fertilizer factory. All this shows that the normalization and establishment of good and friendly relations have acquired their material basis in the form of economic cooperation which greatly benefits both countries."

This is what I said. Did I attack anyone by this? I did not. Did I say anything untrue? I did not. This is true, and what can I do if they are disturbed by my statement that this would be beneficial to both countries? I did not say who would benefit from it more.

From this it emerges that I neither belittled Soviet aid nor attacked the USSR, but gave a picture of the real state of affairs. And I was quite justified in saying that such cooperation benefited both countries. I did not go into which country would benefit more from that cooperation. Nor should I like to say now that we would not have derived great benefit

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from it, had they not abrogated those treaties. We would think things are the same also as regards the other charges in connection with my report, from which some passages were torn out of context and misinterpreted. And things are similar with various quotations and excerpts from our program and the other reports. We are particularly surprised that Comrade Rankovic's report could arouse such fury, for we only mentioned things which were said about us which offended us, without even referring to the name of the person who said them, although those things had been said quite openly, before the whole world.

I believe that such practices, as for instance preventing our material from being printed in any of the Eastern countries and preventing the public of these countries from becoming acquainted with it, are neither good nor customary in relations between socialist countries. As you have already seen, we print their things even when they rebuke us. We printed the resolution of the Cominformburo and we printed other material as well. However they do not print our things because they are afraid for their people to see what we say.

But it is obvious that this is precisely a case of trying to slander our country in an easy way, and for this reason they publish only the things that can deceive and embitter the public opinion of those countries. And when people who do not know the real facts are only told things that are not good, it goes without saying that they may sometimes become embittered.

But I must tell you that in nearly all these countries the overwhelming majority of people no longer are convinced and say: You did the same in 1948 and later you confessed that it was a mistake. Who can guarantee us that you are not doing the same now, only to say later that it was a mistake. (Applause)

Comrades, if in our program--let us say in our program and in the reports (of the seventh congress--Ed.)--there are certain theoretical formulations which some comrades in other communist parties do not like, it should be possible to have a comradely discussion about them, but there is no reason for such a violent attack against the leadership of the League of Yugoslav Communists and of socialist Yugoslavia as a whole.

Let us take as an example the articles in the PEOPLE'S DAILY, a Chinese paper well known now in the world for its abusive language, or other Chinese papers and speeches by certain Chinese leaders who indulge in hostile abuses and slanders against the state and party leadership of socialist Yugoslavia. All these abuses and slanders, to make things even worse, are reprinted in the Soviet press and in the press of other communist countries and parties. With such a slanderous vocabulary these ~~articles~~ I use the word with quotation marks--allegedly defend the purity of the theoretical ideas of Marx, Engels, and Lenin. The three of them would turn over in their graves if they knew who was interpreting them and in what way.

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Comrades, Marxist science seems to have undergone such a metamorphosis on its way from Europe to the Chinese leaders that its creators would hardly recognize it today and would be particularly astounded by the ethics which individual Chinese leaders attribute to Marxism. Of course, it is no fault of Marx, Engels, and Lenin that their science is given such a twisted interpretation in that distant country by certain quasi-Marxists who interpret Marxism and want to lecture on it in their inhuman way.

If the Chinese leaders have their internal difficulties--and they certainly have them--they should solve them in another way, and not by such hostile speeches against Yugoslavia. We know what an obstacle to building socialism is presented by shortage of investment funds and credits, but we are trying to solve these problems in an honorable way, and not to the detriment of any other socialist country.

They reproach us in an abusive way because the United States has given us 2 billion dollars in order to buy us. First of all, it is not true that we have been given 2 billion dollars, although that would be of great benefit to us. Second, they forget that other countries, in World War II and later as well, received great material aid--both military supplies and food--from the United States as well as aid from UNRRA. This includes the Soviet Union and certain other East European countries. They forget that Yugoslavia was almost completely destroyed in World War II and that it has a right to act in order to heal the wounds left by that war, at least partially.

The fact that the Chinese leadership stands firmly on Stalinist positions as regards relations among socialist countries is their own business, but another question can be asked: Who benefits and where does it lead when pressure is exerted on a small socialist country like Yugoslavia, similar to that of 1948, a pressure which they (the Chinese--Ed.) themselves condemned at one time?

They may be sure that this pressure will not be successful but that it will leave even deeper scars on international workers movement. They write and say that 1948 should not be repeated: They defile us and then say that 1948 should not be repeated, and yet they use the same language, the same slanders, the same methods of distortion and lies in their propaganda as in 1948.

It is also interesting to note that the Chinese leaders attacked us on account of our foreign policy, a policy of coexistence among states and peoples with different state systems. That means that they are against relaxation of world tension and that they hold, in this respect, the same positions as the most reactionary warmongering elements in the West.

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Comrades, that is precisely the trouble. They do not like our peaceful policy--the policy of peace, the policy of coexistence. But war cannot solve the various difficulties encountered in building socialism, even if a country has 600 million inhabitants--a fact which some of its people are fond of stressing, saying that in a possible war, in a conflict, there would still be 300 million left: That is to say, 300 million would get killed and 300 million would be left behind, but there would be no one left except them.

We maintain and say that socialism cannot be built and spread around the world by war and war destruction, but that this can be achieved only through consistent work, creative work by workers in every country, and through constructive cooperation with other peoples.

War is the greatest enemy of mankind, and particularly of socialism, and we reject it as a means for settling accounts among nations because of their different social forms and concepts. In quantity and in abusive quality, the Bulgarian leaders and the Bulgarian press keep in step with the Chinese against Yugoslavia, not to mention the Albanians. They are always among the first, if not the first, when Yugoslavia and its leaders are to be slandered.

The Seventh Congress of the Bulgarian Party was mainly devoted to attacking, slandering, and insulting socialist Yugoslavia and, of course, its leaders. There was so much mention of Yugoslavia at their congress that the congress resembled a Bulgarian-Yugoslav faction's congress. Instead of admitting shortcomings and the difficulties in the internal development of their country, instead of giving an account of past wrong deeds, instead of admitting their mistakes at work, the Bulgarian leaders assumed the right to interfere in the internal development of Yugoslavia. They invented various false data, criticized the allegedly bad conditions in Yugoslavia, at the same time praising their own in order to show that things are better in their own country and thus pacify the Bulgarian people.

But the things which I have enumerated so far do not exhaust the list of attacks against the League of Communists and against Yugoslavia. Other communist parties try not to lag behind and reprint all the slanders and insults against our country, with occasional additions of their own which also contain insults and fact-twisting.

Judging by all the speeches, the offensive tone, and the slanders, this campaign seems to have been organized for a long period. From time to time some leaders of those countries make various pacifying statements which have a definite aim--that is, to deceive the world public in order to be able to isolate us and compromise us as much as possible.

It is natural that we adhere to the point of view that state relations should not deteriorate, but that it is not entirely up to us. The campaign itself considerably worsens state relations between our country and the countries whose leaders are attacking us. The statements which some leaders have made to the effect that theoretical discussion must not worsen state relations have already been fully discredited. We believe that if a really principled and comradely discussion were held state relations would not deteriorate.

But this is a campaign led by state and party leaders of the socialist countries against socialist Yugoslavia, and according to this, state relations inevitably deteriorate. That this has already affected state relations is proved by several facts.

First, immediately after our congress, the Soviet Government for the second time in the last two years violated an interstate agreement on extending credit for some projects of importance to us. Second, immediately after our congress, the Soviet Union canceled a return state visit. Third, the visit of a disabled war veterans delegation was canceled. And fourth, other mutual visits, planned earlier, were also canceled. It is clear that this was not done on ideological lines, but on state lines. Thus, any emphasis of ideological lines is absurd, because the issue in this matter can clearly be seen.

In order to deceive the world, Comrade Khrushchev made a speech at the Seventh Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party, recently held in Sofia, in which he, among other things, without justification attacked Yugoslavia and the leadership of the League of Yugoslav Communists with expressions which have no connection with comradely criticism.

He called us a Trojan horse (laughter) by means of which the Western imperialists hope to destroy the socialist countries. In his speech, as you will see later, he not only attacked the Yugoslav leaders but also our people. Our people suffered a lot on account of Stalin's policy of economic and political pressure and we are deeply hurt now to hear Comrade Khrushchev repeat and justify this now, even though he sharply condemned such Stalinist policy at the 20th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party.

Saying that we were the agents of the class enemy in the workers movement, Comrade Khrushchev said the following in Sofia: "Nobody should suspect the monopolist circles of the United States of being interested in the consolidation of socialism and the development of Marxist-Leninist theory. The representatives of that country, that is Yugoslavia, maintain that we allegedly retreat from Marxism-Leninism and that they, the Yugoslavs, remain on the right positions. A queer enough situation emerges. The imperialists want to develop Marxism-Leninism through that country, through Yugoslavia."

This means that he charges us sarcastically with pacting with the United States which, and of course I agree, does not like socialism.

I fully agree that the United States does not give us aid in order that socialism can triumph in Yugoslavia, just as in 1921 and 1922, when the United States gave aid to the Soviet Union during great hardships and drought, they did not intend it to strengthen the Soviet regime. They gave great aid there then because there was famine in the USSR.

The United States started giving us aid in 1949, not in order that socialism would triumph in our country--they do not like socialism and they do not conceal this. They state openly that they do not like it--but because we were threatened by famine and because Yugoslavia would in this way be able more easily to resist Stalin's pressure and strengthen its independence.

And if certain U.S. circles possibly entertained other hopes, that was no concern of ours. The Stalinist policy of economic blockade and threats inflicted enormous damage on Yugoslavia which amounted to about 600 billion dinars, according to the estimates of experts.

Thus the tripartite aid of the United States, Great Britain, and France helped Yugoslavia which was in distress due to the blockade and Cominform pressure. And the United States, Great Britain, and France gained a lot in the world, in the moral respect, as a result of this aid.

Comrade Khrushchev often says that socialism cannot be built on U.S. wheat, but I think that those who know how can do it, while those who do not know how will not be able to build it even on their own wheat.

Comrade Khrushchev said in his speech that we lived on charity received from imperialist countries, which is to say that our people live on charity given to us in the form of reject goods (nekurentna roba), presumably moldy or something of the kind. First of all, our people do not live on anyone's charity but exert enormous efforts to create a better life for themselves. Second, I have already said earlier why even today we have to receive aid to a certain extent, in the form of long-term credits and not free aid. Third, the U.S. wheat, cotton, and lard are not discarded goods (nekurentna roba). They are not discarded goods, but products which are in high demand on world markets. After all, U.S. wheat is no worse than the Soviet which we are not getting, while we are getting it from the United States. (Laughter)

We find all these things very good, and in the rest of the world as well they are considered useful because they enable us more easily to surmount obstacles, which regrettably are placed before us by those who should help us repair the damage caused from 1948 to 1953 by economic blockade and political pressure.

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Finally, what moral right have those who are attacking us to reproach us on account of U.S. aid or credits, when Comrade Khrushchev himself recently offered extensive trade exchange to the United States, and even credits (Tito corrects himself--Ed.) in order to get credits. There is no logic in this, and it is pure cynicism to attack and slander us as selling ourselves for U.S. aid and credits. They may, we may not.

In his speech in Sofia Comrade Khrushchev said many insulting things about Yugoslavia and its leaders, but the most curious thing is that now he assumes the same attitude as the Chinese leaders, that is, the attitude of a defender of the infamous resolution of the Cominform.

That is a document which will remain a disgraceful stain on the history of socialist relations and the international workers movement. When today one reads that so-called resolution, one can see on what monstrous fabrications and slander it was based with the sole aim of smearing our party and our country as much as possible.

Much more surprising is the fact that in today's campaign, and not through discussion, Comrade Khrushchev and others are reviving that act, so disgraceful to socialism. Comrade Khrushchev likes to say, ostensibly as a joke, (follows a proverb in Russian--Ed.), which means in our language "in a fight any club will do."

I think that this is, however, a very poor and compromised weapon in today's so-called discussion or, better said, the unprincipled campaign against socialist Yugoslavia. It would be logical for us, parallel to their revival of the Cominform resolution for an attack against Yugoslavia, to go back to the past as well, to reveal various misdeeds against our country and people during more than four years and our arguments against Stalin's fabricated accusations from 1948.

But where would all this lead us? I am reproached for speaking in my report about Stalin's policy being negative and harmful to Yugoslavia and, as much as to Yugoslavia, also to some small countries and the Soviet Union itself.

I consider, however, that I did not say anything sharper than that which had already been said at the 20th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party. Besides, the facts which I cited have been known to the whole world for a long time. This is the history of Stalin's policy of pressure and incorrect policy toward Yugoslavia. However, we must not and do not desire to allow history to be falsified. Therefore, I cited this as a historic fact, and nothing more.

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The congress of the League of Yugoslav Communists has a historic significance for entire domestic life and it could not keep silent about the negative phenomena of the past and ignore the situation as regards development in the period between the sixth and seventh congresses.

Comrades, all this is very difficult for us, but we shall fight and defend ourselves from various unjust accusations, from various slanders and attacks, because this entire campaign aims at silencing our principled stand on the correct and just relations between the socialist countries. (Cries: "So it is" with applause and chanting)

Comrades, you can see that this time again, in connection with these attacks, not only the leading men of our country but also all our people remained calm and collected. It appears that it is our fate to have to build socialism in our country under constant blows from all sides, and the worst blows are coming from those who should be our most loyal and best friends. It appears to us that history bestowed on us this hard road to preserve the development of socialism from degeneration and to enable socialism to emerge from the chaos which today prevails in the world with such a moral strength that it will secure a victorious road in its further development. (Cry: "Long live socialism" with applause)

They are accusing our leaders of poisoning our people with hatred against the Soviet Union, but this is not true, comrades. You know this best. (Cries: "This is so") On the contrary, we found it very difficult to restore the confidence of our people. But who will restore now, I ask you, that confidence which was destroyed in 1948 by the monstrous acts against Yugoslavia? Let them ask our ordinary man whether this is true, and they will find out what our people now think about the latest steps against our country. We not only do not incite our people against the people of the Soviet Union, we shall even strive in the future to prevent the indignation caused by the present campaign from taking too deep roots in the hearts of our people.

Our people do not cultivate any hatred against the people of the Soviet Union or any other people in the world. On the contrary, they cultivate sympathy toward the Soviet people whom they consider brotherly people who have suffered greatly in their history and who carried out the great October Revolution. However, in the hearts of our people there has accumulated a good deal of bitterness because of the acts against our country which, we believe, the Soviet people themselves do not understand.

You see, comrades, today some leaders, Chinese for instance, write and talk in the same vain as was customary in 1948, namely, that during all these disputes our people apparently are not in agreement

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with us but with them; that is, that our people are against us but that they are powerless and cannot help themselves. Now, just think-- our people, who are powerless to help themselves yet were able to settle accounts with the Hitlerite and occupation troops and quislings, are powerless to do the same with a few leaders. (Applause and chanting "Tito-party")

Comrades, this is how they incorrectly interpret the mood of our people and their political maturity. The old methods of 1948 are again appearing on the scene of the anti-Yugoslav campaign, with the only aim being to deceive their own people, because this propaganda cannot deceive our people who know very well about these things and who have several years' experience in this respect. We therefore do not conceal anything and according to our possibilities print all their speeches and commentaries in order to acquaint our people with them. And what do those who attack and accuse us do? They do not print anything of ours because they are afraid. Such false accusations will be also harmful to themselves, because in the end the truth will again prevail, comrades. (Cries: "So it is" applause and chanting)

We will not abandon the building of socialism because of this campaign. We will know how to overcome these new difficulties. We will know how to preserve untainted the banner of Marx, Engels, and Lenin which in the past, too, we carried with honor through all storms and attacks from all sides. (Applause) Comrades, we did not want this struggle because we already have enough to worry about. However, since this struggle has been imposed on us we will defend ourselves and nothing will scare us out of fighting for what we believe to be correct and just. The main point is that we preserve the unity of our people and firm ranks of our workers, the League of Yugoslav Communists, and the Socialist Alliance of the Working People of Yugoslavia. (Applause and chanting.)

By stubborn work in the further building of our socialist country, by increasing the standard of living of our working people (prolonged chanting), and by increasing work productivity and so on, we shall give the best answer to those who are now slandering and attacking us.

Comrades, true enough we have the experience, the patience, and the courage, yet this latest situation is difficult for us, not because anything can prevent us from victoriously marching forward in the building of our country, but because of the moral aspect, although in this respect we are in a far better position than they are because we know that we are right. Yet there was no need for this. However, since this is the position we shall not lose much sleep over it. We shall answer them from time to time because we must answer them. You see, there are so many of these slanders that I am not sure whether a truck could take all of them away. (Laughter)

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We shall have to answer from time to time, calmly and coolly, not using the same language but a human language--the language of truth. Meanwhile we must strive to preserve our unity and the firmness of our ranks, because it is important that we create in our country an increasingly better life and true socialist relations. This will be useful to us and to the further development of socialism in Yugoslavia.

Long live the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia! (Prolonged applause, chanting, and singing.)

IV THE HUNGARIAN BROADCAST ON THE NAGY EXECUTION

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H U N G A R Y

June 17, 1958

ANNOUNCEMENT ON NAGY TRIAL, EXECUTION

Budapest, Hungarian Home Service, June 16, 1958, 2300 GMT--L

(Announcement by the Ministry of Justice on the criminal proceedings against Imre Nagy and his companions)

(Text) The judicial authorities have completed the proceedings in the case of the leading group of persons who on Oct. 23, 1956, with the active cooperation of the imperialists, brought about the outbreak of an armed counterrevolutionary uprising aimed at the overthrow of the legal order of the Hungarian People's Republic.

The supreme prosecutor of the Hungarian People's Republic in his indictment charged Imre Nagy and his accomplices, Ferenc Donath, Miklos Gimes, Zoltan Tildy, Pal Maleter, Sandor Kopacsy, Jozsef Szilagyi, Ferenc Janossy, and Miklos Vasarhelyi with the criminal act of conspiracy for the overthrow of the state order of the Hungarian People's Democracy, and in addition, Imre Nagy with high treason, and Sandor Kopacsy and Pal Maleter with the criminal act of military mutiny.

The criminal proceedings against the accused Geza Losonczy have been dropped by the prosecutors office, as the defendant has died from illness.

The findings of the people's court bench of the supreme court in the criminal case of Imre Nagy and his companions, on the basis of the confession of the accused, evidence of 29 witnesses, after hearing the indictment and defense, and examining extensive material evidence, were as follows:

Imre Nagy and his closest accomplices, Geza Losonczy, Ferenc Donath, Miklos Gimes, and Jozsef Szilagyi, in December 1955, brought into being a clandestine antistate organization for the purpose of seizing power by force and of overthrowing the Hungarian People's Republic. In the course of the hearings of the criminal case, it was established that Imre Nagy and his accomplices had assumed a leading role in the preparation and outbreak of the counterrevolutionary uprising in October 1956.

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Zoltan Tildy and Pal Maleter became acquainted with the hostile objectives of Imre Nagy and his companions in October 1956, approved of them, and actively joined the counterrevolutionary uprising. The members of the conspiratorial group at the head of the reactionary forces at home and in alliance with the imperialists abroad, carried out an attempted putsch for the overthrow of the Hungarian People's Republic.

The court established that Imre Nagy, in the interests of seizing power by force had set up a narrow illegal group with his closest supporters as early as the end of 1955. The illegal group carried out its hostile activity by illegal means and by abusing legal possibilities. In order to carry out their aims of overthrowing the people's power, they mobilized and included in their activity all kinds of people who were enemies of the people's democratic state order.

At the same time, camouflaging their true aims, in a demagogic and mendacious way, by proclaiming socialist slogans, they also temporarily misguided and used for their antistate purposes some people of good faith. The group of conspirators, primarily the leader of the group, Imre Nagy himself, elaborated the political platform of the movement against the people's democracy, its direct tasks, methods, and more remote aims.

The person representing the prosecution submitted to the court these secret documents, written in the main in Imre Nagy's own hand. In the document "Morality and Ethics," written in December 1955, Imre Nagy described the people's democratic state order as a power which had degenerated into Bonapartism, and appealed for its overthrow by force. In another document entitled "Of Some Topical Questions," written in January 1956, he set as a task alliance with forces opposing the people's democracy. Giving up the power of the working class, he set the aim of restoring the multiparty system.

In his writing entitled "Five Principles of International Relations," also dated January 1956, he pointed to the annihilation of the country's defensive pact--the Warsaw treaty--thus maneuvering the country into the hands of the imperialists, as one of the aims of the group of adventurers, on the pretext of the elimination of the policy of blocs.

On the basis of the evidence and confessions, the court established that Imre Nagy had these writings printed and clandestinely distributed among the circle of his immediate accomplices and among elements whom they deemed trustworthy.

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In the course of the hearings it was proved that the illegal organization set up by Imre Nagy and his companions developed planned subversive activity in the interests of undermining the worker-peasant power, for the disintegration of the legal order of the people's democracy, and later in the interest of seizing power by force. They drew Gabor Tanczos into their illegal activity, and also (Balazs?) Nagy, who later escaped to the West. Through them they transformed the Petofi Club into a meeting place for hostile elements, into a forum of attacks against the party and the state.

On the pretext of arranging debates, they themselves organized the Petofi Club's moves against the people's democracy. Numerous hostile speeches were prepared in advance, among others the speech made by Tibor Dery in the so-called debate on the press, encouraging youth to counterrevolutionary activity, which was jointly prepared by Geza Losonczy, Sandor Haraszti, and Dery. Their methods also included the publication in the press of inflammatory articles, making use of Tibor Dery, Gyula Hay, Tamas Aczel, and similar elements who were opposed to the people's republic. In these articles, mistakes committed in the course of socialist construction were enlarged out of proportion, and the system was slandered without inhibition.

By all this they aimed at undermining the power of the state, reducing its authority, bringing into action elements hostile to the people's democracy, and in such a climate, at seizing power by force. In September 1956, Geza Losonczy publicly declared to Amos Elon, an Israeli journalist then staying in Budapest: If it comes to it, we shall oppose the government by force.

On Oct. 20, 1956, Jozsef Szilagyi announced at an illegal meeting which he arranged: Imre Nagy and his companions are ready to seize power. The well-known demonstration of Oct. 23 had been initiated by Imre Nagy and his group by using his connections established in the Petofi Club and the universities. For instance, on the night of Oct. 22, Jozsef Szilagyi at a meeting held in the technical university, personally called for demonstrations on behalf of Imre Nagy.

The demonstrations of Oct. 23 were directed by the Imre Nagy group through Gabor Tanczos and his companions. At this period, the group of conspirators held clandestine meetings almost daily, and several meetings on some days. On Oct. 19, 20, and 22, 1956, at Imre Nagy's initiative, Geza Losonczy, Ferenc Donath, and Miklos Gimes, also drawing in other members of the organization, began elaborating the program of their intended government.

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HUNGARY

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At a clandestine discussion held in Geza Losonczy's apartment on the morning of Oct. 23, 1956, held under the leadership of Imre Nagy and attended by Miklos Gimes, Miklos Vasarhelyi, Ferenc Janossy, and Sandor Haraszti, a government list, with which they intended to come to power through the overthrow of the legal Hungarian Government, was drawn up. On the secret government list, Imre Nagy had himself designated as premier, and the ministerial posts were distributed among themselves by members of the group of conspirators.

Simultaneous with the demonstration, for the (few words indistinct) direction of the armed uprising which had broken out, members of the organization set up several special illegal groups. A center of one group, whose members were Sandor Kopacsy, Jozsef Szilagyi, Mikos Gimes, Gyorgy Fazekas, and Tamas Aczel, was organized in the Budapest main police command.

Sandor Kopacsy, in violation of his oath, abusing his post as chief of police, deceiving his subordinates, carried out the tasks appointed by the illegal center. In the interest of the arming of the insurgent antipeople's democratic forces and at the same time for the dissolution of the armed forces loyal to socialism, he gave orders to the borough police commands not to put up any resistance against the rebels but, on the contrary, to hand over their arms and the police buildings to them. In this fashion Kopacsy had more than 20,000 rifles distributed to the rebels from the police stores. This group was in close cooperation with a subcenter, set up on Oct. 24, 1956, which had as members Geza Losonczy, Ferenc Donath, and Ferenc Janossy. This group, among other things, directed the activity inciting disaffection within the ranks of the army, and at the same time continuously supplied the rebels with the military plans of the armed forces defending the people's republic.

Imre Nagy and his accomplices, well before the October uprising, had built up secret relations and conducted talks with the representatives of bourgeois restoration, with whom they allied themselves in the interests of seizing power by force. In the course of these talks, for instance, Geza Losonczy and Sandor Haraszti had personally agreed as early as July 1956, and later also with Anna Kethly, through the mediation of Istvan Erdei, concerning participation in the intended Nagy government. Imre Nagy decided in December 1955 to restore the former so-called coalition parties, and to form a government jointly with them.

When, however, leaning on counterrevolutionary forces, he acquired the post of premier through force and fraud, he went much further than this.

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Without any inhibitions he permitted and made possible, during the few short days of the counterrevolution, the setting up of 70 different parties and organizations in contravention to the constitution, among them such notorious bourgeois-fascist parties--prohibited also by the peace treaty--as for instance the party of Hungarian Life, the Christian Democrat Party, the Hungarian Christian Party, the Hungarian People's Party, the National Camp, the Christian Front, the Catholic People's Party, the Christian People's Party, and the Arrow-Cross Party in Cyor.

In order to secure power, the Imre Nagy group of conspirators concluded an alliance with other groups of the most extreme reaction. This group rehabilitated even the legally and justly sentenced former Prince Primate Jozsef Mindszenty and brought him out against the people's republic. After reaching agreement with him through Zoltan Tildy Mindszenty proclaimed the program of capitalist restoration over the radio on Nov. 3.

Imre Nagy and his companions also reached an agreement with the bourgeois-fascist Hungarian emigres in the pay of the imperialists. This is proved by the declaration on Oct. 28, 1956, of Bela Varga, chairman of the so-called National Council, in which he said: Members of the council are in constant contact with leaders of the Hungarian rebellion.

Following this, Zoltan Tildy agreed by telephone with Ferenc Nagy, who had arrived in Vienna, to support the counterrevolution, that the emigres would give the Imre Nagy government their support. Imre Nagy, in the course of his activity as Premier, in violation of his oath, excluded from leadership the constitutional directing organs of the country, the National Assembly, the Presidential Council, and the government, and by illegal means set up a so-called cabinet as his own government organ.

He had already selected his cabinet so that, although he gave places in it to persons loyal to socialism for deceptive reasons, reactionaries were in the majority. However, he reorganized even this cabinet on Nov. 2, including in it further intrepid extremist representatives of bourgeois restoration and leaders of the counterrevolutionary uprising. The cabinet at that time, in addition to Imre Nagy, included Geza Losonczy, Zoltan Tildy, Anna Kethly, Istvan B. Szabo, Istvan Bibo, as well as Pal Maleter, the Minister of Defense, who was also the commander of the armed counterrevolutionary forces.

Imre Nagy and his group of conspirators, after the dissolution, that is, the relegating aside, of the central organs of the power of the people's republic, set about to annihilate the local organs of power. The councils, the legal administrative bodies, were liquidated, as were the organs of economic management, and they were replaced by so-called revolutionary committees, organized in the majority from bourgeois-fascist elements, and the so-called workers council, intended to mislead the workers.

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Through their treasonable and disruptive activity, Imre Nagy and his accomplices finally, by the cease-fire order which they had enforced, paralyzed the armed forces defending the people's republic; at the same time, they organized, supplied with arms, and finally legalized the insurgent counterrevolutionary forces. They recruited into the so-called National Guard, war criminals, those who had committed crimes against the people, convicts released from prison, and all types of persons who were enemies of the people's democracy.

After this, the white terror started in Budapest and throughout the country. According to data so far investigated, detachments of terrorists during the few short days of the rule of Imre Nagy and his companions murdered 234 defenseless citizens. During the same days they imprisoned 3,000 progressive persons loyal to the people's democratic system, whose execution they had planned to carry out within the next few days. Apart from this, by Nov. 4 they had prepared a "death list" including over 10,000 persons, preparing to massacre them.

Parallel with rallying around themselves the reactionary forces of the country, Imre Nagy and his accomplices established relations and cooperation on a broad basis with the various circles, organs, and representatives of the imperialists. Laszlo Kardos, one of the members of the group of conspirators, was in contact with Cope, a former official of the British legation in Budapest, through whose collaboration they smuggled abroad the antistate political writings of Imre Nagy. Through Pal Maleter they were in contact with Cowley, the British military attache, who also took a direct part in the military direction of the insurrection.

Through Geza Losonczy they established contact and set up cooperation with Prince Loewenstein, a representative of West German imperialists sent to Hungary. On the basis of negotiations, Prince Loewenstein in a speech over Radio Kossuth assured the counterrevolutionary insurgents of the support of West German big capital. At the same time, certain imperialist circles, led by the American imperialists, had for years used their entire propaganda apparatus, their news intelligence service, for supporting the Imre Nagy group, the representatives in Hungary of the counterrevolutionary trend which they called national communism.

The American news intelligence organ called the University of Strasbourg, as early as September 1956, elaborated the program of the counterrevolutionary uprising, which was illegally disseminated in the country. At the time of the counterrevolution, they sent considerable quantities of small arms, smuggled in as Red Cross gifts. Parallel with this, the imperialist press and radio started a campaign popularizing the person of Imre Nagy. They proclaimed that it would be more favorable for the Western powers if Hungary's break from the socialist camp were carried out by a group bearing a communist name.

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The notorious Radio Free Europe in its Hungarian-language transmissions and through its well-known balloon scheme, had propagated the idea of the counterrevolutionary uprising, and after its outbreak it helped and guided it with military instructions. These instructions were then carried out by the group of conspirators.

In the interests of realizing its aims and, furthermore, to make the road quite free for imperialist intervention, Imre Nagy and his group of traitors attempted to denounce the country's defensive pact, the Warsaw treaty, in an illegal and one-sided manner.

The crowning of this attempt was the radio appeal broadcast by Imre Nagy on Nov. 4 in which he appealed to the Western imperialists for an open, armed intervention against the revolutionary worker-peasant government and the Soviet troops it had called in. After the fall of the counterrevolutionary insurrection, individual groups of the Imre Nagy conspiracy sought refuge where they had formerly received support. From among the participants of the coup, Bela Kiraly, Anna Kethly, Jozsef Kovago, and others escaped to the West to evade being called to task. Jozsef Mindszenty, according to the information of the Hungarian authorities, went into hiding in the U.S. Legation. Istvan B. Szabo tried to escape to the British Legation in Budapest. The Imre Nagy group, which had previously come forward under the pirate flag of national communism, escaped to the Yugoslav Embassy in Budapest, to evade being held responsible.

It is characteristic of the infamy of the conspiracy that they continued their counterrevolutionary activity without a change even after the Hungarian people, under the guidance of the revolutionary worker-peasant government, had already begun reestablishing legal order, insuring the peaceful life of the people, and reparation of the grave damages wrought by the counterrevolution.

Anna Kethly, Bela Kiraly, Jozsef Kovago and their companions from the West, and Imre Nagy, Geza Losonczy, and others from the Yugoslav Embassy in Budapest, sent out instructions for the continuation of armed resistance, the organization of strikes to paralyze life, and for the reorganization of underground subversive work.

Nagy and Losonczy, for instance, through Miklos Gimes and their other accomplices, established links from the Yugoslav Embassy with the Central Workers Council of Budapest, with Radio Free Europe, and even published a new illegal paper under the title "October 23."

All this has been proved by the investigations conducted later and in the court proceedings now instituted by irrefutable facts.

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The material of the case at the court proceedings has also shown and proved that Imre Nagy and his companions, as a result of their earlier revisionist, bourgeois-nationalistic political attitudes, necessarily had to arrive at an alliance with the most reactionary, imperialist forces of the bourgeoisie, had to become traitors to the workers regime, the people's democratic system, the Hungarian working people, and the socialist homeland.

At the court hearing, the accused Ferenc Donath, Miklos Gimes, Zoltan Tildy, Sandor Kopacsy, Ferenc Janossy, and Miklos Vasarhelyi showed repentance and admitted their guilt entirely. Imre Nagy, Jozsef Szilagyi, and Pal Maleter denied that they were guilty; however, in the course of the hearing, as a result of the damning evidence of their accomplices and the witnesses, as well as material evidence, they were unmasked and they made a partial confession concerning their criminal acts.

The people's court bench of the Supreme Court, considering the gravity of the criminal acts and taking into account the aggravating and extenuating circumstances on the basis of the hearings has declared the accused guilty of the acts which formed the grounds for the indictment, and has sentenced Imre Nagy to death, Ferenc Donath to 12 years' imprisonment; Miklos Gimes to death, Zoltan Tildy to 6 years' imprisonment; Dr. Jozsef Szilagyi to death; Ferenc Janossy to 8 years' imprisonment; and Miklos Vasarhelyi to 5 years' imprisonment.

The sentences are final. The death sentences have been carried out.

V JUGOSLAV COMMENTS ON THE NAGY EXECUTION

Nagy Case

Belgrade Serbian Home Service 1400, 21 June.

("Events that are talked about"--Roundtable discussion by foreign political commentators Milutin Milenkovic, Branislav Dacic, and Kjukan Juris. The speakers are not individually identified during the broadcast.)

(Text) The announcement by the Hungarian Ministry of Justice of the execution of Imre Nagy, Maleter, Jozsef Szilagyi, and Miklos Grimes and the heavy sentences passed on other members of this so-called Nagy group is an event receiving heavy comment these days. It is being treated in the East and in the West, many times of course, from entirely opposite platforms, and statements are being made, as well as commentaries written about this grave act.

After almost two years of uncertainty about Nagy's fate, the world has now learned of Nagy's trial, although with insufficient details about the indictment and its advocates--news which simultaneously covers the trial and also the execution of the sentence, the heaviest sentence that can be imposed. This event has posed many questions and aroused speculation throughout the world. Some commentators, for instance, are asking why was this done just now; why it was announced now it it was done sometime ago--since we do not know when it happened--and what are the possible consequences of this act. I think that the first question is why was the agreement, and official and known international agreement on the cessation of asylum for Nagy and his colleagues, unscrupulously violated.

(another speaker --ED.) When we consider this event, the trial and execution of Nagy, we must recall that this is above all a violation of an agreement, an international agreement--a violation which is not customary in international practice--an agreement between the Yugoslav and Hungarian Governments. According to international practice, the Yugoslav Government gave asylum to the then Premier, Imre Nagy, and some of his Ministers. When the Hungarian Government gave written guarantees that nothing would happen to these persons who were protected by asylum, they left the embassy building.

(Another speaker--ED.) And that no repressive measures would be taken against them.

(Second speaker--ED.) Yes, of course. I will even remind you of the letter sent to the Yugoslav Government in which it was said: "We acknowledge that asylum given to the group in this respect ceases and that they will leave the Yugoslav Embassy alone and freely go to their homes." What the "Free Walk Home" turned out to be,

unfortunately, is well known. Instead of going home, Imre Nagy and others were taken to Rumania.

(Another speaker --ED.) They were kidnapped in the streets of Budapest.

(Second speaker --ED.) Yes. And it appears to me that the announcement of the execution of Nagy and the others aims at concealing the facts and putting the blame on Yugoslavia.

(Another speaker--ED.) It is significant that the trial of Imre Nagy and members of his group was announced at a moment when the campaign of pressure against socialist Yugoslavia has again flared up. We cannot forget that the recently held congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party ended with the mobilization of this party for the struggle against Yugoslavia and that this trial -- and indeed attempts are being made to use it for new attacks on Yugoslavia -- follows in logical succession.

(Another speaker--ED.) And this trial is similar to other trials in the past.

(Previous speaker--ED.) Of course it directly resembles Rajk's trial, which was also held at a time when a strong anti-Yugoslav campaign was waged. One is no doubt reminded of it. It is obvious that this trial occurred because some one wants to aggravate relationships with Yugoslavia.

(Another speaker--ED.) The point is that this trial is supposed to fabricate some kind of "proof" of Yugoslav-Imperialist connections with the Hungarian events. This appears to be the essence of the trial at this moment.

(Another speaker--ED.) As in the case of Rajk's trial, some body is being tried and Yugoslavia is being imagined as the main defendant.

(Another speaker--ED.) It is clear that someone needs an intensified campaign against Yugoslavia in accordance with bloc concepts at this moment and that this someone insisted on Nagy's trial and such results, such indictments, and so forth.

(Another speaker--ED.) Yes, you come now to the point, to the question which I wanted to put in my introduction: Why was this announcement made just now? Who needed to settle accounts just now in such a form, at the present international moment, and why?

(Another speaker--ED.) I think this question is quite in order. There are, in fact, no objective reasons, either on the Hungarian or on the international level, why such a trial should take place just now. In the 20 months since the tragic events in Hungary there was no talk about a trial. Furthermore, it was even said that there would be no trial.

(Another speaker--ED.) Imre Nagy was a Hungarian and the premier of a Hungarian Government. The question is: Which are the domestic reasons which would eventually dictate such a process and the trial of Nagy and others?

(Another speaker--ED.) It is clear that Nagy did not represent a danger in Hungary in regard to his convictions or his present position and power.

(Another speaker--ED.) If we look at it like this, and this is quite true, then it is clear that the Hungarian Party and the Hungarian Government did not need this trial, because it will only rekindle the old hatred and open old, scarcely healed wounds. That is, it can only intensify existing differences.

(Another speaker--ED.) It cannot be considered as a separate Hungarian affair because there are plenty of signs of a wider movement in the entire Eastern Bloc, the Eastern Camp. In China and other places there are some serious signs of internal intensification. There are reports of purges within various parties, threats against so-called revisionist elements, and so forth. What happened to Nagy in fact represents only a detail--perhaps not even the last one--but it is certainly a drastic detail, a detail which indicates the return to stalinist methods. It would, perhaps, not be strange if the persons who were the bearers of such methods also reappeared in the role of main (prosecutors in this trial).

(Another speaker--ED.) This certainly would not be strange.

(Previous speaker--ED.) It is characteristic of the present situation in the East European Camp that Stalinism and Stalinist concepts are again gaining strength. If the 20th congress represented a negation, a complete negation of the entire practice in the Stalin Era--which was also reflected in the infamous cominform resolution--then the fact that these are again recalling this document as a proof of Yugoslavia's revisionism and so forth undoubtedly represents a negation of the decisions and spirit of the 20th Congress.

(Another speaker--ED.) Not only his. One has a very strong feeling that Nagy's trial represents the rehabilitation of that policy which was denounced at the 20th Congress.

(Another speaker--ED.) Yes, this is so. In this case this event will certainly have serious repercussions in international relations, or at least it may have repercussions. Judging by present reaction in the West, it appears that this event is being used by those who opposed any yielding, meetings, and other measures to achieve conciliation between East and West, as well as by those who perhaps looked at things with good will. Western papers state almost in unison that prospects for a summit meeting have been reduced.

(Another speaker--ED.) Let us set aside the reactionary circles which, as you said, never wanted a summit meeting and are using Nagy's tragic execution for their own purposes. But those people who are ready, on the basis of the 20th Congress and prospects which this congress offered on the international level, to support the Soviet initiatives are now asking whether Nagy's execution is not reducing these prospects. They ask this because this execution does not appear to be a sign of good will.

(Another speaker--ED.) Of course, the thing that causes anxiety in the present situation is the fact that this event has cast a shadow and is discouraging efforts to hold a summit meeting and to achieve a relaxation of international tension in the end.

(Another speaker--ED.) This is illustrated by the attitude adopted by Nenni, leader of the Italian Socialists, who is KN by his opposition to bloc policy, inclusion of Italy into Bloc Policy, and so forth. He has now been forced (to state) that this has put salt into old wounds and has openly declared that this represents a great disappointment, because he received unofficial assurances that Nagy would be (several words indistinct).

(Another speaker--ED.) This is why we in Yugoslavia view this execution with (sorrow) not only from the human point of view, or because it represents a great new aggravation of relations with us, but, above all, because such a trial, within the framework of the general camp policy, may have far-reaching negative repercussions within the camp as we

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as in the world.

(Another speaker--ED.) It objectively harms the development of international relations and those tendencies directed toward relaxation of international tension.

(Another speaker interjects--ED.) And socialism in the world.

Yugoslav Note to Hungary

Belgrade Tanyug in English Hellschreiber to Europe 1740 23 June
(Yugoslav Government Statement)

(Text) Budapest--The Yugoslav Ambassador in Budapest, Jovo Kopicic, today called on the deputy Hungarian Foreign Minister, Istvan Sebes, and handed him a Yugoslav Government note which protests most energetically against the statement of the Hungarian Ministry of Justice regarding the pronouncement and execution of the death sentence of Imre Nagy and his companions.

This statement, says the Yugoslav note, lays a number of heavy accusations against the federal people's republic of Yugoslavia which are groundless, whereby a heavy blow has been inflicted on relations between the federal people's republic of Yugoslavia and the Hungarian people's republic.

The note of the Yugoslav Government reads:

On June 17, 1958, the Ministry of Justice of the Hungarian People's Republic published a statement on the pronouncement of sentence on Imre Nagy and his companions and on its execution.

The statement alleges, among other things, that "certain groups of conspirators of the type of Imre Nagy bought asylum there, whence they earlier received support," that Imre Nagy, Geza Losonczy, and others "were sending their instructions from the building of the Yugoslav Embassy in Budapest for the continuation of the armed resistance, for organizing strikes which paralyze life and for reorganizing underground, subversive activity," that "from the building of Yugoslav Embassy" they "established, through Miklos Gimes and other accomplices, contacts with the Central Workers' Council of Budapest, with the radio station Free Europe," and, what is more, "they published the new illegal paper October twenty-third."

The Yugoslav Government, and our people have received the sudden news about the secret trial and the execution of Imre Nagy with profound indignation. The assertions of alleged activity by the persons mentioned after their arrival in the Yugoslav Embassy building are untrue, and are fabricated from beginning to end.

The Hungarian Government knows very well that those persons, while staying in the Yugoslav Embassy building, did not commit any of the acts mentioned in the statement of the Hungarian Ministry of Justice. As soon as they came

to the Yugoslav Embassy building the persons mentioned gave, as a normal condition for using asylum, a statement to the effect that they renounced any political activity during the term of their asylum, and this they strictly adhered to.

The President of the Revolutionary Worker-Peasant Government, Comrade Janos Kadar, was also informed of their statement soon after his arrival in Budapest on the fourth day after Imre Nagy and his companions came to the Yugoslav Embassy. Apart from this, the embassy building was, during the whole time, under the strictest supervision of Soviet military detachments and the Hungarian Security Service. In that same period, on Nov. 5, 1956, Yugoslav Diplomat Milovanov was killed in the Embassy building by shots fired from tanks in the street.

Judging by the staged accusations against Yugoslavia, and by the circumstances under which the trial was held (the statement contains no data of the time when the trial was held and when the sentences were executed--Tanyug), there is justified doubt in the accuracy of the other material evidence as well, certainly in all that is directly or indirectly imputed to Yugoslavia.

The Yugoslav Government stresses this finding all the more resolutely, as there have also been similar trials in the past, such as the trial of Rajk, in which Yugoslavia was accused. Allegations were, at that time, also made that reliable evidence was available on Yugoslavia's guilt and interference, and then later, when much innocent blood was shed, it was established that this evidence, along with the explicit admission of responsible Hungarian men, was invented. Attacks at that time, as is known, inflicted great difficulties on us, but the chief victims were the peoples of the countries in which these trials were staged.

Therefore, the Yugoslav Government does not consider it at all necessary to prove its uprightness in this matter. It never interfered in the internal affairs of Hungary nor is it doing so now. The facts about this stand of the Yugoslav Government are known not only to the Hungarian Government, but to the whole international public as well. Thus, it is generally known that precisely at the time for which it is accused, Yugoslavia was making considerable efforts, selfless efforts, to contribute toward the stabilization of conditions in Hungary, for which it was often paid tribute by the Hungarian leaders themselves.

From the aforesaid, it follows that the quoted assertions given in the mentioned statement constitute a harsh and

and completely unprovoked attack on the federal people's republic of Yugoslavia, with the obvious aim of sharpening and justifying--by again using the most sinister methods from the recent past--the existing organized and merciless anti-Yugoslav action, of fundamentally vitiating Hungarian-Yugoslav relations, and of trying to cast the responsibility for those events in Hungary onto Yugoslavia.

This is undeniably confirmed by the fact that the allegations in the Hungarian statement were immediately made use of in the press of certain governments which are taking part in this action. This attack, regardless of whether it was made by free will, is all the more deplorable and to be condemned, as relations between the Yugoslav and Hungarian peoples have been favorably developing, which could only be of mutual interest, as well as in the interest of all who really want the consolidation of peace in this part of the world. It is obvious that by this act the government of the Hungarian People's Republic has inflicted a heavy blow on relations with the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia."

In connection with the statement of the Hungarian Ministry of Justice, the Government of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia considers it necessary to recall the following facts as well: by the exchange of letters between the governments of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia and the Hungarian People's Republic of Nov 18 and 21, 1956, respectively agreement was reached on the solution of the question of asylum of Imre Nagy and other persons which were given asylum in the Yugoslav Embassy in Budapest, in that the Hungarian Government had guaranteed personal security and free departure of those persons to their homes right after leaving the Yugoslav Embassy building, obliging itself that "it would not apply any sanctions against them for their past activities."

"Whereas in this political situation in Hungary there was danger of counterrevolutionary elements organizing attempts against Imre Nagy and other persons belonging to his group, with the object of turning over responsibility for the consequences to the revolutionary workers and peasants government, and further, bearing in mind that their personal security is threatened by possible revenge on the part of their political opponents, Imre Nagy and companions, on the basis of an agreement on this issue concluded between Governments of the Hungarian people's Republic and the Rumanian Peoples Republic, have left for the Rumanian People's Republic until such time as appropriate conditions of security are brought about in the Hungarian Peoples Republic."

It is obvious that the government of the Hungarian Peoples Republic has on two occasions harshly offended the obligations it gave to the government of the Federal People's Republic of

Yugoslavia: by not making possible the free return of Imre Nagy and other persons to their homes, but instead sending them to the Rumanian Peoples Republic for a compulsory stay; and by the fact that, contrary to the given guarantees regarding personal security and impunity because of their past action, it brought some of these persons to a secret trial, and sentenced Nagy and some of his companions to death which punishment was executed, whereby the fully valid agreement was severed beyond repair.

The Government of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia most energetically protests to the government of the Hungarian Peoples Republic because, in addition to harshly violating the aforesaid agreement between the two governments reached by the exchange of letters of Nov. 18 and 21, 1956, respectively, and confirmed by the Hungarian note of Dec. 1, 1956, and in the statement of the Hungarian Ministry of Justice of June 17, 1958, which announced the pronouncement and execution of death sentence on Imre Nagy and his companions, the Hungarian Government lays a number of heavy accusations against the Federal Peoples Republic of Yugoslavia which are groundless, thereby inflicting a heavy blow on the relations between the Federal Peoples Republic of Yugoslavia and the Hungarian Peoples Republic, and thus taking upon itself, before its people and world public opinion, full responsibility for the ensuing consequences.

FBIS 6/23-435P

VI POLISH REACTION TO THE NAGY EXECUTION

Polish Stand on Nagy

London reuters radioteletype in English to authorized recipients 2039 6/23 E

(Text) Warsaw -- The Polish Communist Party Central Committee has sent a circular to local party organizations expressing disapproval of the execution of former Hungarian Premier Imre Nagy, according to well - informed sources tonight.

The circular, giving the line of the party leadership, maintains the previous party view that Nagy failed politically in the 1956 crisis but that he was not a counterrevolutionary.

It criticizes Nagy's decision to withdraw Hungary from the Warsaw Pact. But it says that the decision to execute Nagy came as a complete surprise to the Polish leaders.

This official Polish position is in striking contrast to the condemnation of Nagy by the other Communist Bloc Nations, but so far the Poles have made no public pronouncement on Nagy's death.

Political observers here feel a key question is how long party chief Wladyslaw Gomulka can maintain his policy of silence over the execution. Publicly - expressed approval would put him at odds with the majority of his party, and explicit disapproval would expose him dangerously to criticism from the rest of the Communist Bloc.

Kind words from Kommunist, Official Soviet Communist Party Theoretical Organ, have come as a welcome support. A few days ago, just after the announcement of Nagy's death, Kommunist appeared with an article approving the Polish leadership's struggle against "Revisionism".

This appeared to be a deliberately - timed slap on the back for Gomulka. This authoritative benediction forestalled possible branding as "Revisionist" of Polish reaction to the execution of Nagy.

The Kommunist article seems also to give the lie to recent widely - published speculations that Gomulka was about to resign.

Gomulka's position in the party apparatus is now stronger than ever, while the so-called "Stalinist" element is at its lowest since the fall 1956 when Gomulka came to power.

The only possible threat to his standing would appear to be direct pressure from Moscow. The favorable Kommunist statements discount this as an immediate prospect, it is thought here.

Nothing is known here to substantiate the contention that Gomulka has sent a letter of protest to Khrushchev dissociating himself and the Polish Party from the execution of Nagy.

FBIS 6/23-600P NP

VII MOSCOW COMMENTS ON THE LEBANESE SITUATION, JUNE 20 TO 24

Intervention in Lebanon

Moscow Soviet European Service in English 1930, 20 June.

(Leonid Jetrov/ Commentary)

(Text) We skimmed through yesterday's British papers and got the impression that they are highly alarmed over the way the United States and Britain are playing with fire in connection with the events in Lebanon. Most papers note with anxiety that Britain gains absolutely nothing, and even stands to lose much, from armed intervention by joint Anglo-American forces. The conservative Daily Express was absolutely right in saying that Britain had no business getting involved in this affair.

Unfortunately, in voicing opposition to British participation in the new military gamble being prepared in the Middle East, a number of papers, including the Daily Express, don't protest against the organization of armed intervention in Lebanese affairs by the West. The Daily Express, for one, bluntly welcomes the possibility of American armed interference.

How are we to explain this seemingly strange stand? Why does the paper favor intervention, but without Britain? The Daily Express is well informed and has made obviously a thorough study of recent facts and in particular the behavior of the United States in the Lebanese crisis. Behind this movement of fleet and military units, behind these bombastic statements regarding Anglo-American solidarity and the other events connected with the preparations for American and British intervention in Lebanon, the Daily Express has evidently seen something else that made it sit up and think twice. Britain is already suffering her first losses, even though things haven't gone so far as armed intervention in Lebanon. We have in mind the fact that Britain agreed to let the United States use Cyprus as a base for American troops.

Listeners might object by saying that the Americans can leave just as easily as they came. However, in all the cases we know of American troops staying on foreign territory, there is not a single case of the Americans leaving any one of them of their own free will. Cyprus is the first step. The Americans are looking at Britain's other bases in the Near and Middle East. It has been learned that the United States has approached Britain about building an airfield and setting up a military base in the principal city of the British protectorate of Bahrain. The United States is even prepared to pay Britain 200 million dollars for permission to build American military installations there.

So, behind the drum beating and the call for Anglo-American solidarity, the United States is trying to lay hands on some of Britain's bases in the Near and Middle East. It is hard to say what British base is next in line. Perhaps Gibraltar, maybe Malta. Who knows? Britain's American friends don't as a rule let her into all their plans.

The United States fans up the fighting spirit of Britain's governing circles and takes skilful advantage of Britain's participation in engineering armed intervention in Lebanon. The Americans are worming their way into Britain's bases under the pretext of the necessity of Joint Operations, and the American Fleet is crisscrossing Britain's communication lines under the same pretext.

We don't have to claim that it is only due to the U.S. persistence that Britain finds herself involved in Lebanese affairs. But that isn't the point. It is absolutely obvious that the deeper Britain gets involved in Lebanese events the greater the setback her policy in the Near and Middle East will suffer.

FBIS 6/20 952P

MCELROY

Moscow Soviet Home Service 1930, 20 June.

(Commentary by Station Observer Ter - Grigoryan)

(Text) The following words were pronounced publicly in the United States: I would not hesitate to use more or less clean atom bombs if the United States had to interfere in the affairs of the Lebanon.

These words were said not by a private person, nor a secondary official. They were pronounced by a high U.S. Statesman, Secretary of Defense Neil McElroy. For that very reason, this statement cannot pass unnoticed. McElroy's declaration is an open challenge to the world, a real threat to the Lebanese people.

The declaration of the U.S. Secretary of Defense definitely is in the nature of a provocation. It is aimed at influencing the course of events in the Lebanon, and intimidating the nations of the Near and Middle East by the U.S. Military might. At the same time, McElroy's very frank statement convincingly demonstrates the worth of the assurances of U.S. leaders about their adherence to the idea of peace, and their striving to achieve an agreement on atomic problems.

McElroy has gone much further in his declaration than those U.S. politicians who favor the continuation of atom and Hydrogen Bombs tests. McElroy urges that these bombs should be used in practice as soon as possible. While all the nations of the world demand an unconditional ban on atomic weapons, the U.S. Statesman speaks of atomic war as of something quite normal. He merely substitutes for the words "Atomic War" the words "Bomb of Restricted Power."

The provocative declaration of one of the U.S. military leaders, McElroy, disclosed the true aims of the U.S. imperialism in the Near East, aims which the Washington diplomats are trying to cover up by peace-loving phrases.

FBIS 6/21 305A

MCELROY

Moscow Soviet North American Service in English 0100, 22 June

(Vlandimir Volgin commentary in McElroy's June 19 Speech at Quantico on using Nuclear B-47's in Lebanon)

(Text) It may be that some Americans believe their leaders' declarations to the effect that they need atomic and hydrogen bombs as a deterrent to insure the security of the United States. What do they think now after reading McElroy's statement? Could a little country thousands of miles away threaten the security of the American people? It is a ridiculous idea, is it not? But the U.S. Minister of Defense is thinking of using Nuclear-loaded American bombers against Lebanon. Now, what has the security of the United States to do with that?

When they talk about the Nuclear Arms Race, American leaders also like to drag in the myth of Communist aggression, but, this statement by the Minister of Defense, again shows that that is an empty excuse. No one could say an aggression of any kind has been committed against Lebanon. What is going on there is a purely internal affair. The people have risen to fight for the independence of their own country. But McElroy regards even this conflict, which concerns the Lebanese people alone, as a sufficient excuse for using American atomic bombs. It should be obvious to all now that Washington has placed its (stakes) on the use of atomic weapons on the widest possible scale. It would appear that it intends to make use of this frightful weapon to support colonial regimes, to uphold colonialism, which has outlived its time.

Every American now will probably stop to think over what this policy of atomic bullying is resulting in. In the Arab East and in many other countries, Anti-American feeling has become very strong, as everybody knows. America's prestige is on a steep downgrade, and all because of this policy of Washington. This statement that McElroy has just made can only increase the indignation of the people toward U.S. policy. After all, how could anyone put any faith in Washington's peaceable intentions if the American Secretary of Defense is ready to use the atomic weapon, which has been condemned by all peoples, against a practically defenseless little country?

That policy of atomic blackmail which manifests itself so vividly in McElroy's speech is what has been heightening international tension and mutual suspicion and the danger of another war. That could hardly be said to be to the interest of the American people who, beyond doubt, want to live in peace and tranquility.

The United States has been rejecting all the Soviet union's proposals for banning nuclear weapons or, at least, for undertaking not to use them. In spite of the worldwide demand for an end to the atomic war danger, the United States does not even want to take a first step in that direction and terminate its testing of atomic hydrogen bombs. The speech the American Secretary of Defense made in Quantico leaves no doubt as to the explanation for that. It has made it perfectly clear that the United States intends to use these bombs for its imperialist aims. That places not only the Lebanese people in danger, such a policy is dangerous to the American people too--just as dangerous as to the peoples of the rest of the world.

FBIS 6/22 200A

Commentary on Lebanon

Moscow Soviet European Service in English 1954, 22 June

(Text) The tension in Lebanon is increasing. The U.S. Sixth Fleet has been moved closer to the Lebanese Coast. U.S. Aircraft keep on bringing arms and munitions to Lebanon. British paratroopers on Cyprus are kept in readiness. Even politically unsophisticated people cannot but realize that an armed intervention against Lebanon is being prepared. The events of 1956, when Britain, France, and Israel began their aggression in Egypt to make it give up the nationalization of the Suez Canal, are still fresh in peoples' memories. This intervention greatly undermined Britain's political prestige, not to mention the fact that it ended in disgrace in the military respect.

The crash of the Suez adventure was the main cause of the fall of Anthony Eden's cabinet. The Anglo-French intervention was condemned by the United Nations which insisted on the withdrawal of foreign troops from Egypt. Something similar to the Suez adventure is being prepared at present. The only difference is that this time the first fiddle is being played by the United States.

However the United States is more tricky. First it doesn't want to act all by itself and is involving Britain and other countries. Secondly it hopes that by involving several member countries of the United Nations it will succeed in using the U.N. name and prestige to cover its aggression. In order to divert world public opinion from intervention which is being prepared against Lebanon, the United States has launched a campaign of violent slander against the Soviet Union, using the trial of Imre Nagy in Hungary as a pretext.

The trial was Hungary's internal affair and it isn't the business of the United States or any other country to discuss whether the sentences given to Imre Nagy and his accomplices was correct. These persons were responsible for the death of thousands of honest Hungarians and a Hungarian court severely punished them. Surely the Hungarian people know better than the U.S. leaders what to do with traitors to Hungary. For its own selfish aims, the United States is trying to turn Hungary's internal affair into an international problem. Imre Nagy's trial is the leading topic in the Western Press. U.S. and West European Papers (one word indistinct) protestation on the so-called Hungarian question.

The United States wants to keep this hue and cry going as long as possible, to create more favorable conditions for intervention against Lebanon. Meanwhile, its pressure on the Lebanon is increasing. Defense Secretary McElroy, openly stated that if the United States needed to dispatch its armed forces to Lebanon, he wouldn't hesitate in sending B - 47 bombers with atomic and hydrogen bombs.

This isn't the first time in postwar years that the United States has been making threats of this kind. It will be remembered that during the Korean War General MacArthur threatened to use an atom bomb in Korea. This evoked strong protest in all countries, Britain included. The British public resolutely denounced this barbarous plan of U.S. Generals. At that time, the United States didn't risk using thermonuclear weapons. There's no doubt that it will not risk such a step now either, nobody supports it.

Preparing intervention against the Lebanon, the United States wants to come off scatheless and at the same time profit from it. According to its plans, Britain and probably France are to take part in the Lebanese adventure. It's hard to say what the United States will get from this policy. As for Britain, there's no doubt that it will get nothing, but will pay for it with its international prestige.

FBIS 6/22 742P

U.S. Mideast Policy

Moscow Soviet Home Service 0900, 23 June

(Excerpts) Pravda carries an article by Plyshevsky entitled "Where the New Course of U.S. Policy in the Middle East has Led."

It is with growing anxiety that world public opinion watches developments in the Middle East, the article says.

American and British ruling circles now state openly that they are ready to intervene in the affairs of Lebanon with their armed forces. For this purpose they have concentrated their armed forces in the Eastern Mediterranean, from where they can begin military intervention any day.

One of the fundamental objectives of the American Dulles - Eisenhower Doctrine, the author points out, is to squeeze the old colonialists, Britain and France, from the Middle East. None other than Dulles made the well-known statement to the effect that if he were an American soldier in the Middle East he would not like to have British and French soldiers beside him.

The collusion between American and British colonialists about possible joint intervention against countries that have freed themselves from colonial oppression and which are struggling for their economic independence in no way irons out the divergencies between the American and the British oil monopolies in this area.

The peoples of Arab countries, like people of all countries in the Middle East, resolutely oppose the Dulles-Eisenhower Doctrine. They understand that the Doctrine divides the Middle East states into feuding groups and reestablishes the colonial regime.

FBIS 6/23 333P

Western Lebanon Intercession

Moscow Soviet Home Service 1600 24 June.

(Tass Statement)

(Text) With increasing frequency, reports have been coming in of late that the U.S. and British ruling circles have been preparing armed interference in the internal affairs of the Lebanon. For this purpose, for instance, it is proposed to turn the U.N. observers who are being sent to the Lebanon into a U.N. Police Force;

The numbers of these observers are to be increased. Thus, dangerous plans are being nurtured for armed foreign interference in the domestic affairs of the Lebanon.

It is known that these plans are openly proclaimed by the leading statesmen in the United States and Britain. Thus, at his press conference on June 17, U.S. Secretary of State Dulles stated the necessity for having in Lebanon U.N. Armed Forces somewhat stronger numerically and somewhat different in composition than originally proposed. In this connection Dulles bluntly stated the U.S. intention to send its troops to Lebanon under the guise of the U.N. Armed Forces.

He stressed that U.S. Troops could land in the Lebanon not only at U.N. request, but also unilaterally. In other words, the whole world has been told that the United States might embark on a path of an armed intervention against Lebanon.

On the next day, June 18, President Eisenhower told press representatives that the United States was ready, in view of the events in Lebanon, to apply military action, and that the question of what action was to be taken depended on the opinion of U.N. observers and the U.N. Secretary General.

French Minister of State Andre Malraux, touching upon events in Lebanon, also stated that, were action taken by the United States and Britain, the French attitude would probably be to take part in it.

The British Press says openly that the United States and Britain have worked out plans for an armed intervention in Lebanon and are ready to exact bloody retribution from the population of that country. The NEWS CHRONICLE reveals certain details of these plans and points out that in their present form they provide for a landing of 3,000 U.S. Marines and a Joint U.S.-British Airborne Detachment.

Before the eyes of the whole world, U.S. and British Aircraft are continuously delivering arms and ammunition to Lebanon. U.S. and British Troops are being moved to the Eastern Mediterranean. Ships of the U.S. Sixth Fleet and British Ships, including the aircraft carrier Ark Royal, are already near Lebanese shores. U.S. Defense Secretary McElroy has made open threats to use Atomic weapons against the Arab peoples. On June 19 he said that he would without hesitation use bombers carrying more or less clean Atom bomb bombs in the Middle East, should U.S. Forces have to interfere in the Lebanon.

(Tass on Lebanon)

(Continuing Text) In this connection it would not be out of place to remind the U.S. Secretary that in ancient days, in Rome, there was a good custom: Before taking an important decision, the Romans took a shower bath. Did the Secretary for War of the United States (few words indistinct). In not, it would have been apposite for Mr. McElroy, before deciding to make such a statement, to follow the example of the Romans.

In informed western circles, no secret is being made of the fact that all the above-mentioned military preparations being made by the United States and Britain are calculated to allow the operation for intervention in an internal affairs of Lebanon to be carried out in the shortest possible time, and thus to present the world a fait accompli.

To prepare public opinion of their countries for this criminal act of aggression, the official press of the Nato Countries has (recently) spread various versions of the alleged interference by the United Arab Republic in the affairs of Lebanon. The Press of the Western countries openly points out that the preparations for intervention in Lebanon were preceded by an Anglo-U.S. "Agreement" that the main theme of the talks recently held by the President of the United States, Eisenhower, and the Prime Minister of Great Britain, MacMillan, was to reach an agreement on a plan of aggression against Lebanon.

The Governments of the United States and Great Britain not only do not deny this, but actually confirm it. The above-mentioned statements by the leaders of the United States, as it were not by chance, followed immediately upon the end of this meeting. All this goes to show that the ruling circles of the United States and of some other western countries intend, either under the guise of the armed forces of the United Nations or without any pretext whatever, to introduce their troops into Lebanon and to occupy the country.

Today a search is proceeding only for a pretext to begin the intervention against the people of Lebanon, who are struggling for their independence and against the intervention of colonizers in the affairs of Lebanon, and against foreign dictat. There arises the legitimate question: Do not certain circles of the Western Powers, who are to this day unable to reject their former policy of colonial briage, not want to take a kind of revenge for the failure of their aggression against Egypt and their intended adventure against Syria? However, Experience shows that such calculations are founded on shifting sand. One may have no doubt that foreign intervention against Lebanon would again primarily expose the aggressive and expansionist plans of the Western powers toward the Arab peoples.

If the actions of those powers have in the past resulted in the mountains of hatred for colonialists having already accumulated among the Arab peoples, there can be no doubt that any fresh aggression against the Arab people would greatly intensify that hatred, which would remain for generations. The bombs and guns of the interventionists would not only blast the citizens of Lebanon, but would at the same time blast forever all faith in the good intentions of the west toward the peoples of the east among those people who harbor such illusions.

(Tass on Lebanon)

(Continuing Text) It is no secret that certain quarters in the United States have for some time been hatching plans or interfere in Lebanon's domestic affairs, hoping to utilize for that purpose, above all, the Colonialist "Dulles-Eisenhower Doctrine." Expressing the will of the people of the country, several prominent Lebanese politicians and statesmen are condemning these Colonialists plans.

Thus, the President of the Lebanese Parliament, Usayran, has stated that the people of the Lebanon would not permit any foreign Armed Forces, whether they be Armed Forces of the U. N. organization or of any foreign power, to land in Lebanon. He thus emphasized that the arrival in Lebanon of U. N. observers should not be a prelude to the landing of foreign troops.

The leader of the Moslem party, Najjadah, Adnan Al-Hakim, has said that if the arrival of Hammarskjold in Lebanon was a preparation for landing International Police Forces in Lebanon "We would tell him: Return to your country. We do not want anybody to interfere in the domestic affairs of our country and we will fight all those who attempt to send foreign forces to Lebanon."

The leader of the Lebanese party national bloc, Parliamentary Deputy Raymond (indistinct urname) has stated that foreign armed interference in the domestic affairs of Lebanon in any form might undermine the cause of peace in the Near and Middle East and the world at large.

The plans for armed intervention in the domestic affairs of Lebanon arouses profound indignation not only in Lebanon and Arab countries, but in any other countries, both in the east and the west. This is understandable, for foreign armed intervention in Lebanon would constitute a challenge not only to the Lebanese people, not only to the peoples of the Arab East who are defending their independence, but also to the forces of peace the world over.

Therefore, it is the duty of every state and every government genuinely concerned with peace to do everything possible to prevent aggression against Lebanon. It cannot be tolerated that the United Nations, formed for the purpose of maintaining international security, be in one way or another used by the enemies of peace for concealed aggression against Lebanon.

The group of U. N. observers being sent to Lebanon in accordance with the decision of the Security Council must not carry out functions other than those provided for by the decisions of the Security Council, providing it with the required information. It cannot and it has no right to interfere in the internal affairs of the country and its people.

The plans for intervention against Lebanon show once again that the forces which have firmly bound themselves to continuation of the cold war and intensification of international tension regard the area of the Near and Middle East as a permanent object of imperialist intrigues and dangerous provocations. No sooner does one hotbed of such provocations disappear than there appears yet another, even more dangerous, hotbed.

(Tass on Lebanon)

(Continuing Text) In connection with the threat of armed intervention by the western powers in Lebanon, the official circles of the Soviet Union think that the attempts of certain states for armed intervention in Lebanon under this or that pretext stand in glaring contradiction to U. N. principles and constitute a mockery of these principles. The settlement of question concerning the state of Lebanon is the prerogative of the Lebanese people and of the Lebanese people alone. These or other internal developments in Lebanon must not serve as a pretext for interference from without in her internal affairs. Attempts at armed interference by the Western Powers in the internal affairs of Lebanon would inevitably lead to grave exacerbation of the situation and would gravely jeopardize the cause of peace, while the responsibility would fall fairly and squarely on their organizers and participants.

As regards the Soviet Union, as it has been said so often, it holds that peace should prevail in the area of the Near and Middle East, situated as it is in the vicinity of the USSR Frontiers. Therefore, the Soviet Union again cannot remain indifferent to the preparation of a foreign intervention in Lebanon, however it may be disguised. (ENDALL)